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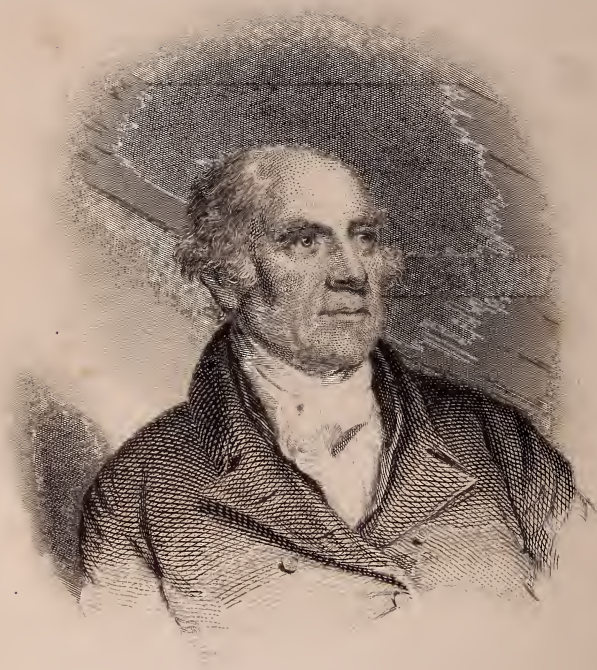
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ALEXANDER HAMILTON

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN, ESQ.

WITH

Additions and Illustrations

BY

WILLIAM HAMILTON DRUMMOND, D.D. M.R.I.A.

"Qualis ab incœpto."—HOR.

DUBLIN :

THOMAS TEGG AND CO. LOWER ABBEY-STREET.

1840.

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INTRODUCTORY LETTER,

ADDRESSED BY MR. ROWAN TO HIS CHILDREN.

MY DEAR CHILDREN,

23 Jan 36
Whilst residing at Wilmington on the Delaware, in the United States of North America, not expecting to return to Europe, and unwilling to solicit my family to rejoin me there, I was anxious to leave you some memorial of a parent whom in all probability you would never know personally. Under that impression I commenced the following details, uninteresting except to you, who have requested me to transcribe them, that each of you should have a copy.

It was not at that time, nor is it now my intention to vindicate the act which occasioned my then exiled situation ; though I felt a strong self-justification, in the consciousness that if I had erred, it had been in common with some of the most virtuous and patriotic characters then in Ireland. Yet I was sensible that I had been concerned in a

transa^ction for which the laws of my country would have not only seized on my property but taken my life ; and I felt no small degree of gratitude to the existing government of the country from which I had fled, for its conduct to a beloved wife and eight children whom I had left behind.

In grateful recollection of the Earl of Clare, I take this opportunity to assert that it was by his influence alone, and his benevolent interference in their favour, that my family were permitted to retain possession of my property after my outlawry was completed, and that my pardon was finally granted after his death.

I am convinced, however, that my pardon would never have been conceded at last, had it been opposed by Lord Castlereagh ; to whom, though I owe no obligation for procuring it, I am yet much indebted for the attention that he paid to the various and intricate applications I was obliged to make to him, for nearly two years during which the necessary document remained incomplete, from the time of Lord Eldon's declaration that he would never affix the great seal to that instrument. During this interval Lord Castlereagh offered to place one of my sons in the military college at Marlow, and appoint him to a cavalry cadetship in the

service of the East India Company. The objection of the British chancellor proved to be futile, as I had committed no crime in England to render it necessary ; and in 1806 I came to Ireland.

Sensible of the various defects in this compilation, I have only to solicit that when it may fall under eyes less partial than yours, my motive for writing may be accepted as an apology for what I have written.

ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN.

LEINSTER-STREET, 1826.

[Mr. Rowan, when his life was drawing near to its close, committed the manuscripts to the care of his young friend Thomas Kennedy Lowry, Esq. Barrister-at-Law, accompanied with a letter stating that they had been composed at his leisure moments for the entertainment of his family and friends, with no intention of publication ; but that in consequence of some facts having been misrepresented by several writers, he thought it only an act of justice to himself to have those facts truly explained. “I have therefore been induced,” he continues, “to request you to accept the manuscripts, and undertake the publication of them at some future time, illustrating them with any observations you may think neces-

sary, which I have no doubt from my knowledge of your character will be done as impartially and fairly as I could wish,—and I know you would not undertake the task on any other conditions.”

That Mr. Lowry, had he undertaken the task, would have executed it in a manner as creditable to himself as accordant with Mr. Rowan’s wishes, no one who has the pleasure of that gentleman’s acquaintance will question. It appeared, however, from his correspondence with Miss Rowan on the subject, after Mr. Rowan’s death, that it might be a considerable time before his professional duties would permit his making any great progress with the work; and Miss Rowan having informed him that the Rev. Dr. Drummond, “one of her father’s most respected friends,” had expressed so much interest on the subject, that she was sure that, with Mr. Lowry’s approval, he would undertake the publication immediately. Mr. Lowry at once consented; at the same time stating as his reason, “that he conceived the trust reposed in him by Mr. Rowan would be much more effectually and better executed in the hands of Dr. Drummond than if he had himself attempted it.” The manuscripts were accordingly placed in the hands of the present editor, who, though he cannot accept Mr.

Lowry's compliment as his due, feels truly grateful for the courtesy and promptitude with which that gentleman communicated with him on the subject, and hopes that the task has been performed so "impartially and fairly" as to merit Mr. Lowry's approval as well as that of Miss Rowan, who, knowing her father's wish that the Memoir should be published, considered it as a sacred duty to have his wish fulfilled.

The autobiography, as the reader will soon discover, is written with great plainness and simplicity, its object being merely to serve as a record of facts. Accordingly its author never writes for effect, nor indulges in sentimentality or description. On the contrary, he has studiously suppressed the warmest emotions of his heart, as if he felt ashamed, or thought it beneath the dignity of his character, to give them expression. He could write well, and express himself strongly; and, when addressing Mrs. Rowan, his children, or his friends, he poured out his thoughts with tenderness and affection—with warmth and gratitude. But he did not court the graces of style, and it was altogether repugnant to his taste to give a meretricious colouring to any transaction in which he was engaged. As to the additions which the Editor thought necessary to

illustrate and complete the work, they are not written with the feelings of a partizan—as a friend to the subject of the memoir, he admits—but not as a flatterer or panegyrist. To General Sir George Cockburn he feels particularly obliged for several of the anecdotes recorded in the “additions and illustrations.” Few, if any, knew Mr. Rowan better, or esteemed his manly character more highly.

Had Mr. Rowan wished to make a romance of his history, he had abundant materials; for, of all those who took an active part in the proceedings which led to the insurrection of 1798, the life of none presents us with such a variety of incidents as that of Rowan—the principles of none were more consistent, more disinterested, and more truly devoted to what he believed was for the good of Ireland. That he was precipitate, and embarked in projects which were inexpedient and impracticable, he admits and laments; but no one can justly accuse him of having assumed the character of a patriot from motives of selfishness, cupidity, or reckless ambition.]

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

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HANS HAMILTON, vicar of Dunlop in Cunningham, Scotland, is the person from whom the Hamiltons of Killyleagh have their descent. It was reported that this Hans had been deprived of the fortunes to which he was born, for having in his youth appeared in arms in favour of the unfortunate Mary Stuart against the Regent; that he had been disinherited by the Scottish law, and thus thrown upon the world to depend on his own resources. Having, however, received a good early education,

and being possessed of an excellent moral character, his friends recommended him to apply himself to the study of divinity, and he was afterwards elected vicar of Dunlop. He married Margaret Denham, a daughter of the laird of Westsheils, by whom he had six sons and one daughter, who married John Moore of Glandestone. His six sons were, first, James, who was created a Peer by King James I.; second, Archibald, from whom I am lineally descended by the male line, and Lord Dufferin by the female; third, Gawin; fourth, John; fifth, William; and sixth, Patrick.

Dr. King, in his "Observations on Men and Manners," gives the following account of James Hamilton: "During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, James VI. of Scotland sent James Fullarton and James Hamilton, afterwards Lord Claneboye, to Ireland, to keep up a correspondence with the English nobility, and serve his interest there when the Queen should die." These emissaries appeared first as schoolmasters, and among the first pupils Hamilton had was the Archbishop Usher. He was soon elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; and having conducted his mission entirely to his sovereign's satisfaction, as soon as he ascended the British throne, he called James to his Privy council, and shortly after created him Viscount Hamilton, Baron Claneboye; and according to a phrase of Lord Bacon, he watered the honors most plentifully with extensive grants of territory in Ireland, which had been forfeited to the crown in former reigns, a great

part of which was in the county of Down, and among those, the castle and lands of Killyleagh, which had formerly belonged to the Irish sept of O'Neills.* This settlement of Lord Claneboye in Ireland, brought several Presbyterian clergymen over, many of whom were men of science and talent. These he established in different parishes of his estate, and many of their descendants are still living there. He seemed to have a particular affection for the village of Killyleagh, as he gave about seventy acres of his demesne at Killyleagh castle to the sole use of the poor of that town. The original grant is said to have been lost by the corporation; be that as it may, his son gave a renewal of it in the year 1652.

While Lord Claneboye thus attended to the comforts of those who held no land, he was not unmindful of the more affluent class. He established a philosophical school, which has since fallen

* Of the mixture of avarice and prodigality of King James to his favorites, Sir Robert Cecil, his treasurer, gives the following ludicrous instance in his memoirs:—

“ He had given a warrant for £20,000 to the Lord of Somerset; but the Treasurer, aware of his Majesty's character, ordered the whole sum to be spread on a table in a room through which the King must pass. James asked whose money that was? The Treasurer answered, ‘Yours, before you gave it away.’ Upon this the King cast himself on the heap, and scrambled out two or three hundred pounds, and swore he should have no more.” A contemporary historian, however, redeems his character by saying: “If he had not had this alloy, his high towering and mastering reason had been of rare and sublimed excellency.”—A. H. R.

to decay, but was in existence when Killyleagh fell into the hands of Messrs. Stevenson and Hamilton. They granted a joint lease to Professor M'Alpine, in consideration of his becoming the director of it, and they engaged to furnish him with a house, fuel, and grazing for his cattle, &c. independently of any salary he might obtain.

Lord Claneboye had but one son, whom he sent to travel under the care of a Scottish gentleman of the name of Traill. An account of the occupations of his pupil at that time is contained in the following letter from him to Lord Claneboye.

PARIS, *October*, 1633.

“RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY OWN HONOURED
LORD AND MASTER,

“Your Lordship's first and last of the 20th September, came to my hands two hours ago, as we were going to supper, directed to Mons. Rugier, the King's agent here. They were to me matter of joy, because of the continuance of your Lordship's health, as they satisfied the master's longing, of which your Lordship may easily judge, knowing his dutifulness and affection, which no son can have more, and none such but he that has such a father. The consideration of the season made us hasten from London, reserving much to our return (God willing) and our passage by sea; our journey has been forwarded hitherto without risk or impediment. The best towns between this and our

landing lay directly in our way, Boulogne and Montreal, strong garrison towns, and Abbeville. As for Calais, which we desired to see, it was so far out of our way, as to see it we must have gone direct back again, and we were loath to begin our journey by a retrogradation. Amiens was a little aside, but so infected with the plague that we shunned it of purpose. While we are here this winter, as the holydays fall out we intend some excursions to the places hereabouts ; and whatever may benefit the master by sight shall not be neglected. And thus far your Lordship's letter has led me. By former letters from this place, (for I have written every week and some weeks twice,) your Lordship I hope knows our arrival here ; how we are lodged ; that the master is entered into his exercises of riding, and dancing, and fencing ; and how he spends his time otherwise. In the morning about seven o'clock he goes to the academy, and after two hours or more abode there, he is either busied in reading French or Latin ; then a little after dinner the dancing master comes to him, then the fencing master. Then one for the French tongue, with whom he spends an hour before supper, either in reading or translating French, for the perfecting his pronounciation and understanding of that language, of which when he is in some measure master, some time may be had for the elements of logic and mathematics. Thus your Lordship has an account of all his time, save that which is morning and evening, first and

last, his duties of piety, and the time of diet and sleep, of which, praised be God, his health gives very good account.

“My Lord, that which I would have him chiefly direct his endeavours to, is his riding and fencing for exercise, and most of all his knowledge of men and business, without which there cannot be confidence or discretion in a man’s carriage. As his judgement ripens, sight and conversation will give him more assurance. As to the nerfs and sinews of our domestic affairs, they shall be dispensed as frugally as we can, if you approve of our design to begin the circuit of France about the end of March, or 1st of April; to rest in Geneva the last months of the summer, till the 1st of October. For that journey and time of abode in Geneva we shall have need of no less then £350 sterling, which should be made over to us; as here we might receive a part of the money, and for another part bills to Bordeaux, and for the rest bills to Geneva; from which place, if your Lordship will have the master step into Italy, new bills must be had for such sums as that journey of at least six months will require. But at that distance a letter of credit will supply us better than bills of exchange. If you so please, the letter may be so contrived that the money be not delivered but unto the master himself with me. And moreover, for our journey to Italy another pass must be had, because that which we had in London has an exclusive clause, as your Lordship may have seen by the

copy which I sent you from London ; barring us from all countries and persons, not in amity and league with our sovereign—this chiefly at Rome. The master would be glad it might fall out that James Stevenson, or some other of these parts, were at Bourdeaux at the time when we shall be there, or, at least, that we knew the time of their coming. Our time there, if it please God, may be about the end of April, or beginning of May rather. The master is very desirous that your Lordship and my Lady shall drink wine of his tasting ; to send it by a ship to London to Mr. Archibald, and from him to Ireland, would be double trouble and charge, and not so sure.

“ JAMES TRAILL.”

Paris, October, 1633.

The following is the copy of a letter which Lord Claneboye received from his son, while on his tour :

22nd April, 1635.

“ RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MOST DEAR FATHER,

“ I did write unto your Lordship when I was at Rome, and have seen all the things that are to be observed ; but because the air was not good to stay there in summer, therefore am I come to Florence in good health, thanks be to God. I do purpose to live here quietly for a while, and write to your Lordship as often as occasion will permit ; also I will seek out here for an honest Italian boy, as your

Lordship hath commanded ; so I rest, craving your blessing, and praying God to keep your Lordship in good health,

“ Your most obedient Sonne,

“ JAMES HAMILTON.”

He also wrote to his mother as follows :

“ RIGHT HON. AND MOST DEAR MOTHER,

“ This is the third letter I have written to your Ladyship since I came to town ; I am glad to hear of your Ladyship by my Father’s letter, wherein I hear that your Ladyship did write unto me, but I have not received it yet. I hope the blessings which your Ladyship hath sent me in my Father’s letter shall not be in vain, because they are sent from so loving a Mother. So I rest, praying God to keepe your Ladyship in good health, and leave your blessing to

“ Your most obedient Sonne,

“ JAMES HAMILTON.”

James Hamilton, having returned from his travels, married Anne Carey, eldest daughter of Henry Carey, the first Earl of Monmouth ; and his father, Lord Claneboye, joined him in settling the town of Killyleagh and neighbouring townlands on her as a jointure. Thus his son James, now Lord Claneboye, became heir to all

the estates his father possessed a right over, except those which were settled on his wife as a jointure. In 1644 he was created Earl of Clanbrassil. In 1659 he made a will, in which was inserted the following clause:—"If it do happen that my sons decease, without issue and heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten, before my debts be satisfied, I do then appoint that my debts be first paid, and that then thereafter there be £20 a year given to the school of Bangor; £20 a year to the school of Killyleagh; £10 a year to the school of Hollywood; £10 a year to the school of Ballywalter; and £10 a year to the school of Tonnaghneive; and the remainder of my estate to be divided into five equal parts, amongst the eldest sons or issue of my five Uncles, as the lands can be laid out in most equal and just divisions." This will being shown to Sir Allan Broderick, an eminent counsel of that day, he declared he had never seen any paper more likely to cause lawsuits; and so it proved to be, for Countess Alicia, the widow of Henry, the last Earl of Clanbrassil, (who died in 1675 without issue) kept up a lawsuit with the heirs of the five uncles until the year 1696, when an order of court was made, that the estates of the Earl should be divided among the five claimants who inherited under Earl James's will, first, *James Hamilton of Neilsbrook*, eldest son of *Archibald*, the *eldest uncle* of Earl James. Second, *Archibald Hamilton*, eldest son and heir of *Gawin*, who was *second uncle* to the

said Earl. Third, *Sir Hans Hamilton*, Knight, eldest son of *John Hamilton*, the *third uncle*. Fourth, *James Hamilton*, grandson and heir of *William Hamilton*, the *fourth uncle*. Fifth, *Patrick Hamilton*, grandson and heir of *Patrick*, the *fifth uncle*.

In this division the Killileagh proportion was adjudged to belong to the heirs of James Hamilton of Neilsbrook, viz : to his two brothers Gawin and William, and his three daughters. But one of them having married a Mr. Stevenson, a further division became necessary between that family and the Hamiltons, which took place in the year 1699.

By the union of Ireland with Great Britain in 1800, it was declared that the borough representation of Ireland was private property, and that those who would prove a claim to the representation of any borough which was to be disfranchised by that act, should be compensated.

I was in America at that time ; and Killyleagh being one of those which was disfranchised, my father seems not to have attended to the business, and none but the Blackwood family put forward any claim to the representation ; and accordingly it was adjudged to belong to the then Sir James Stevenson Blackwood, (now Lord Dufferin) and in lieu thereof he received the sum of £15,000, to the one half of which our family was entitled.*

* In proof of this the memoir refers to a memorial presented to Lord Annesley by Mr. Rowan, on his return to Ireland in 1805.

Having given this account of my paternal family, I turn to that of my mother. She was the only child of William Rowan, whose ancestors were also among the Scottish emigrants who settled in Ireland during the reign of James I. or thereabouts. The earliest notice I can collect of them is, that one William Rowan was the rector of Clough in the county of Antrim, and had married a Mrs. Phedris, by whom he got some landed property, and that his son was married to Mildred Thompson of Londonderry, by whom he had several children, of whom my grandfather William Rowan was one.

A letter, of which the following is a copy, from Queen Anne to the Duke of Ormond, concerning William Rowan, dated the 18th of April, 1710, is preserved in the Signet Office, Dublin.

“ Right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, we
“ greet you well. Whereas our high Treasurer of
“ Great Britain hath laid before us your letter or
“ report of the 1st inst., on the petition of Captain
“ William Rowan, as also a report made to you
“ thereupon by the Lords Justices, and principal
“ Officers of the Ordnance of our Kingdom, whereby
“ it appears that the petitioner was very serviceable
“ to our late dearest Brother and Sister, King Wil-
“ liam and Queen Mary, at several times, and on
“ several occasions ; and that he raised a company
“ in the North of Ireland, by virtue of a com-
“ mission from our said Brother when Prince of
“ Orange, and armed and subsisted them at his

“own charge; and in maintaining a pass near
“Londonderry against the enemy, lost his lieutenant and several of his men; and with the remainder served in Scotland, where he recruited and subsisted them at his own charge, and served as a captain till commanded back to Ireland by the late Duke of Schomberg, where he continued and did very good service with his company until the reduction of that kingdom.

“That he afterwards commanded a company of militia, and at his own expense clothed them, and was, with said company, ordered from the north of Ireland to Philipstown, and there did several services, bringing thence, from the enemy, several cart-loads of arms and ammunition to our stores at Athlone, and since hath been active and serviceable in several other instances.

“That he was plundered by the Irish army to the value of £400, and also lost the like value on horses and goods in the siege of Londonderry, for all which services and losses he never received any pay or recompense. Upon the whole matter you agree in opinion with our said justices and principal officers of our Ordnance, that the petitioner is a person deserving our favour, and is become an object of our bounty; and in regard to his having, among other good services, raised a company of foot, and maintained it at his own expense for several years without any consideration. You have promised that if we shall be graciously pleased to place him upon the military

“ establishment of our kingdom of Ireland for the
“ pay of a captain of foot, it will be a bounty
“ well bestowed. We, taking the promise into
“ our royal consideration, are pleased to agree
“ thereto. Our will and pleasure therefore is,
“ and we do hereby authorise you to issue the
“ necessary directions for placing him, the said
“ William Rowan, on the present and all future
“ establishments of expense, on the head of the
“ pay of a captain of foot, the same to commence
“ from Christmas last past, and to be paid him or
“ his assigns during our pleasure, quarterly, in like
“ manner as the pensions in our said establishment
“ are paid and payable ; and this shall be as well
“ as to our Lieutenant Deputy or other Chief Go-
“ vernor or Governors for the time being, and all
“ others herein concerned, a sufficient warrant.
“ And so we bid you heartily farewell.

“ Given at our Court of St. James, the 18th of
“ April, 1710, in the 9th year of our reign.

“ By her Majesty’s Command.

“ GODOLPHIN.”

“ GEORGE WOODISON,
“ *Deputy Secretary.*”

Whether his exertions in favour of the Revolution had absorbed his private property or not, I am ignorant, but certainly he did not die rich. By his marriage with Mildred Thompson he was connected with the Synges and other beneficiaries

of the Church, which determined him to educate his son, my maternal grandfather, as a clergyman, and accordingly he was sent to Trinity College, Dublin. Here he contracted a friendship with a fellow student of the name of Markham.

They were both resolute and uncompromising whigs, and I have heard my grandfather say, that they were frequently obliged to appeal to their fists to enforce the reasoning of their heads. After having graduated at college, he became a candidate for a fellowship, and was elected. At that time there were no lay fellowships, and though of the established church, he refused to take the oaths necessary for ordination, and consequently the election was void. He then attached himself to the study of the law, and in a succeeding period, when the lay fellowships were first established, he was again elected to that for law, and received the unsolicited office of legal adviser to the college. When the Duke of Dorset came over as Lord Lieutenant, he put his son Lord George Sackville under the care of Mr. Rowan.

Having acquired a competent fortune by his profession, he purchased from Colonel Brazier an estate in the County of Donegal called Ray, which he considerably augmented by his marriage with Elizabeth Eyre, daughter and co-heiress of Edward Eyre, Esq. of Galway. He then went to reside at Ray, but Mrs. Rowan disliking the place, he let it by a lease renewable for ever at £450 per annum, and removed to London, where

he purchased the lease of a house in Rathbone-place,* and another on Richmond Hill.

In the year 1750, my father, Gawin Hamilton of Killyleagh, whose fortune, like that of many Irish gentlemen, had need of nursing, retired to England with his wife, the only daughter of William Rowan, and widow of Tichborne Aston, Esq. of Beaulieu, near Drogheda, in the county of Louth; and it was a most fortunate connexion he made, for he possessed a woman endowed with every amiable quality and perfection of mind and body, with a good fortune: They were settled for a time in London where I was born, on the 12th of May, 1751, O.S.

My grandfather's plan for my education was, that after receiving my early schooling I should be sent to Westminster; but not before I should enter the upper school. Accordingly I was sent to a then famous school, kept at Marylebone, by a Mr. Fountain; and it was my grandfather's custom to send for me every Saturday, to see what progress I was making. Either he expected too much, or I was idle, for I was generally sent back on Monday with a letter disapproving their mode of education.

* Rathbone-place at that time was the extremity of London on that side. A large reservoir, which supplied a corn-mill, lay at one end of it, and there was only a foot passage by it from London, which was closed every night. The ground on either side of this reservoir was then divided into several stripes of gardens, fenced from each other by treillages, and occupied by Irish emigrants, who then abounded in Soho, and were accustomed to spend the evenings in singing, dancing, and other amusements of their own country.—A. H. R.

A Monsieur De Morand, an emigrant, was French tutor. He had taken a fancy for me, whom he called *son petit Malebranche*; and frequently has he gone over my lessons with me, previous to my weekly examinations by my grandfather.

I now passed two years in my grandfather's house; he was of a choleric habit, while I was giddy and negligent, and therefore this time passed heavily enough; but by his instructions I was prepared for the upper remove of the fourth form at Westminster, of which the head master, who afterwards became Archbishop of York, was the son of his old chum Major Markham. While I resided with my grandfather, I do not recollect his having ever urged any particular religious doctrine. His chief object seemed to be to give me good principles, and leave the rest to myself. I attended the established church ceremonies with Mr. Rowan; and the chief squabbles which occurred between him and Mrs. Rowan were, that he did not enforce her religious principles upon me with the same energy that he did my scholastic exercises.

The opinions, however, which had influenced him to decline taking orders when first elected Fellow of Trinity College, seemed never to have been shaken, for his will commenced thus:—

“*In the name of the ONE only self-existent Being,*” &c. In the same instrument he made me his heir, and expressed himself as follows:—

“*From personal affection, and in the hope that he shall become a learned, sober, honest man, live un-*

bribed and unpensioned, zealous for the rights of his country, loyal to his King, and a true Protestant, without bigotry to any sect, I give my property to Archibald Hamilton." He also ordered that I should bear his name in addition to that of my father; that I should be educated at one of the British Universities, and should not go to Ireland until I was twenty-five years old, or should forfeit the income of the estate during such time as I should remain there.

William Rowan died in London on the 23d of June, 1767, aged 71. He was buried in Richmond church, where a monumental bust by Wilson, with a tablet containing the following scroll, written by the Rev. Dr. Brett, was erected to his memory:—

D. I. G.

HIC JACET GULIELMUS ROWAN ARMIGER
 NUPER E CONCILIARIIS REGIS
 QUONDAM COLLEGII S. T. JUXTA DUBLIN
 IN HIBERNIA SOCIUS
 QUALIS ERAT IN MORIBUS DOCTRINA
 SI SILEANT FAMA VEL LITERÆ
 TESTENTUR CONTEMPORANEI
 ET IN ACADEMIA LITERATI ET IN FORO JURIDICI
 INGENII ACUMINE CLARUM
 IN TOTA FERE ARTIUM DISCIPLINA EXIMIUM
 LIBERTATIS PUBLICÆ STRENUË ASSERTOREM
 FIDUM PROBUM ET INTEGRUM
 OMNES ETIAM INVIDI AGNOSCUNT
 VITÆ ACADEMICÆ CITO FESSUS
 PRORSUS PRO TRIBUNALI AGERE
 CURAM ADHIBEBAT

QUUM ELIZABETHAM E CLARA EYRE-RUM FAMILIA
 UXOREM SIBI ADJUNGBAT
 EX QUA UNAM SOLUMMODO FILIAM
 GENUIT
 POST OPES IDONEAS CONQUISITAS
 LITES IN FORO AT ASSUEVIT DICERE INIQUAS
 INDIGNE FERENS
 OTIUM PHILOSOPHICUM
 ET LIBERTATEM AMPLIOREM QUAM IN HIBERNIA
 FRUI LICEAT IN ANGLIA QUÆSIVIT
 VIXIT ANNOS 71
 OBIIT LONDINI DIE JUNII 23
 A. D. 1767.
 ET HIC REQUIESCIT IN PACE.

The Rev. Doctor Lovatt, Rector of Lismore, related to me the following anecdote of Mr. Rowan's early life, which I had frequently heard alluded to by many of his old friends, but of which I had never before heard the particulars.

“ When going to London to keep his terms, he engaged a seat in the stage-coach from Chester. His fellow-travellers were five Londoners, returning from Chester linen fair. In the course of conversation, they soon became aware of the birth-place of their companion. The conversation turned, as usual, on highwaymen, and a report that there was an Irishman who infested that road, and who let nothing pass him. It was then declared by the Londoners, that they would never submit to be robbed by any single man, whatever might be at-

tempted by an Englishman ; but by an Irishman the thing was impossible. This declaration was followed by numerous jests on the Irish character. Mr. Rowan, upon this, determined to put their vaunting to the test. On the last day but one of their journey, he pretended to have some business to transact with a person who lived a short distance off the high road, and said it would not occupy him more than an hour, and that he would be able to rejoin them the next day, by hiring a horse for one stage. He waited until dusk, then pursued the coach, stopped it, and made them deliver their effects ;* and on the next morning at breakfast he rejoined them. During the day the jokes were entirely on Mr. Rowan's side, as he insisted it must have been his countryman who had robbed them, and they were obliged to borrow cash from him to discharge their bills. After dinner, however, he insisted on giving them a bottle to drink the health of his countryman. He then put their effects in his hat, acknowledged the trick, and laying it on the table, desired every one to pick out his own. The party continued their journey in apparent good humour ; but when they arrived in London, one of them slipped out of the hotel at which the coach stopped, procured a constable, and gave him into custody, charging him with a highway robbery. This frolic might have cost him dear, had he not been known to the uncle of the Rev. Mr. Lovatt,

* I have the inkhorn which served him for a pistol.—A. H. R.

who was an intimate friend of Sir Robert Walpole, and by his interest procured his discharge.

[Had Mr. Rowan been fond of indulging the pride of pedigree, he might have traced his descent to a higher and nobler source than the Vicar of Dunlop, and shewn the connexion of his family with many titled and distinguished houses, of which it may suffice to mention that of Abercorn, with those of Clanbrassil and Dufferin. But he was more ambitious of personal than of ancestral honors, and might have felt with the Roman satirist, that "virtue alone is true nobility." The curious reader is referred to *Harris's History of the County of Down*, and to *Archdall's Peerage of Ireland*, for more particulars of his family.

The grant of lands to the Hamiltons and Montgomerys in the county of Down, became a subject of litigation with Sir Thomas Smith, to whom the same lands had been given by Queen Elizabeth. In 1611 Sir Thomas got an order of reference respecting them to the Commissioners of Irish Affairs (of whom Sir James Hamilton was one,) and on the 30th of September, 1612, inquisition was taken, and Sir Thomas's title found to be "void and null, for breach and nonperformance of articles and covenants to the Queen."* "In 1626

* See the Montgomery Manuscripts, p. 57, published in Belfast, 1830. In these papers the reader may find much curious and interesting information respecting the first settlement of the Montgomerys, Hamiltons, and Savages, in the county of Down.

Lord Montgomery's patent for his lands was ordered by the King to be passed under the broad seal of Ireland."*

The plantation of Ulster was one of the wisest transactions of the reign of James I. ;† it introduced civilization into a land depopulated and wasted by a long series of sanguinary wars. In granting estates to such families as the Hamiltons and the Montgomerys, James shewed discrimination and judgment. They were real improvers, who brought with them a spirit of industry, and paid such special regard not only to the physical comforts, but the moral and intellectual culture of their people, that the country soon began to assume a new and cheerful aspect. It is stated in authentic documents, to which reference is made in the notes, that "some parishes were more wasted than America when the Spaniards landed there, having but few inhabitants, and those miserably circumstanced." "Sir Hugh Montgomery brought with

* Montgomery Manuscripts, p. 62.

† Hume says—"Tenants were brought over from England and Scotland. The Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country; husbandry and the arts were taught them; a fixed habitation secured; plunder and robbery punished; and by these means Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province of all Ireland, soon became the best cultivated and the most civilized. Such were the acts by which James introduced humanity and justice among a people who had ever been buried in the most profound barbarism. Noble cares! much superior to the vain and criminal glory of conquest; but requiring ages of perseverance and attention to perfect what had been so happily begun."

him divers artificers, as smiths, masons, and carpenters, who soon made booths and cabins for themselves ; because sods and saplins of ashes, alders, and beech trees above thirty years old, with rushes for thatch, and bushes for wattles, were at hand. Markets were established, and a constant intercourse kept up between Scotland and the northern counties, the distance between Donaghadee and Portpatrick being only three hours sail.”*

The name of Lady Montgomery, not less than that of her husband, deserves to be recorded with honour. Would that her noble example were more generally followed ! She gave ample encouragement to every branch of industry, particularly to the linen and woollen manufactures. She built mills, gave her labourers plots of ground for flax and potatoes, for gardens and orchards. Nor were the interests of learning and religion neglected. “ The old women spun, and the young girls plyed their nimble fingers at knitting, and every body was innocently busy. Now the golden peaceable age was renewed ; no strife, contention, querulous lawyers, or Scottish and Irish feuds between clans, and families, and surnames, disturbed the tranquillity of those times ; and the towns and temples were erected, with other great works.”†

Of the first Viscount Montgomery, it is stated that “ he built the quay or harbour of Donaghadee,

* Montgomery Manuscripts, p. 49.

† Id. 54.

a great and profitable work, both for public and private benefit ; and built a great school at Newtown, endowing it with £20 yearly salary for a Master of Arts, to teach Latin, Greek, and Logycks, allowing the scholars a green for recreation at goff, football, and archery ; declaring, that if he lived some few years longer, he would convert his priory houses into a college for philosophy ; and further paid small stipends to a master to teach orthography and arithmetic ; and to a music master, who should be also precentor to the church, (which is a curacy,) so that both sexes might learn all those three arts ; the several masters of those three schools having, over and beside what I have mentioned, wages from every scholar under their charge.

* * * But alas ! this beautiful order appointed and settled by his Lordship, lasted no longer than till the Scottish army came over and put their chaplains in our churches ; who having power, *regarded not law, equity or right*, to back or countenance them ; they turned out all the legal loyal clergy, who would not depart Episcopacy and the service book, and take the Covenant, *a very bitter pill indeed to HONEST MEN* ; but they found few to comply with them therein ; and so they had more pulpits and schools to dispose of to other dominies, for whom they sent letters into Scotland.”*

Thus has almost every good its concomitant evil. Happily, we trust, the good has predominated ; and if any vestige of the same grasping cupidity,

* Montgomery Manuscripts, pp. 104, 106.

and disregard for *equity and right*, is still to be found among the descendants and brethren of the "Covenant," let us hope that a better spirit will in due time come forth, and that the moral sense of equity and right will, even in synodical assemblies, prevail over the desire of legal spoliation and robbery. Presbytery and prelacy have shaken hands and given a fraternal hug! *tempora mutantur*.

But a *bitter pill* still continues to be compounded in Ulster's great theological laboratory, of ingredients not less unpalatable to certain "*Remonstrants*" than those which composed the *bitter pill* of the "Covenant;" and its venders are not a few; for "by that craft," like certain artificers of Ephesus, they "have their wealth." The HONEST MEN who find it too crude to swallow, and who refuse to let it be thrust down their throats, continue to multiply; and in proportion as Christian knowledge, and the love of Christian truth are diffused, will the "craft" diminish, till it becomes extinct.

Mr. Rowan does not inform us for what reason his French tutor called him *son petit Malebranche*; but it may well be supposed that it was for some real or fancied resemblance to the distinguished author of the "*Search after Truth*;" and though his subsequent history shews that he was more devoted to an active than to a contemplative life, he took due care to improve and enrich his mind by reading and reflection. Of this, his letters and various extracts from the best authors, left among his manuscripts, contain abundant proof.—Ed.]

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Rowan sent to Westminster school—His political circle—Enters Cambridge University under the Rev. John Jebb—Goes to Holland with Sir John Borlase Warren and Mr. Newcomb—Lands at Helvoetsluys—Visits Rotterdam, Gouda, the Hague, and Delft—Returns to Cambridge—Introduced to Sir Charles Montague—Miss Ray—The Duke of Manchester offers Mr. Rowan a commission in the Huntingdon militia—Goes to Falmouth—Enters on board the Tartar frigate as Private Secretary to Lord Charles Montague—Arrives at Fayal—Interview with Celestine, a nun—Arrives at Charleston—North Briton, No. 45—Political transactions—Returns to England—Pecuniary embarrassment—Expedients—Sells stock, and grows extravagant—Sixteen-string-Jack—Paper in the "WORLD," HAMILTON.—[Additions.]

AFTER my grandfather's death I was sent to Westminster, and my father quitted his house in Brook-street, and took one from Bonnel Thornton in the neighbourhood of the school. Mr. Thornton was a man of wit, and an intimate friend of Charles Churchill and Robert Lloyd, to whom he introduced my father, and who afterwards became frequent visitors at our house. These, with Doctor Charles Lucas from Ireland, and several opposition English members, formed his political circle, and no doubt had an influence on my early sentiments.

The time for my entering one of the universities having arrived, and my father's affairs requiring

his presence in Ireland, he determined on sending me to Cambridge, and procured letters of recommendation to the Rev. John Jebb, then a Fellow of Peter House College. This gentleman then possessed two livings near Cambridge, which with his private pupils in the university formed the chief of his income. His wife, Miss Talkington, possessed sentiments political and religious similar to his own, and she agreed with him in the propriety of throwing up those livings, rather than, as he expressed his feelings on the subject, "*to act a lie weekly in the presence of the God of truth.*"

On throwing off his ecclesiastical gown, he retired to Leyden, where he studied medicine, and obtained the degree of M.D. To this most excellent man's care, or rather patronage, I was committed; and I am proud to say, that though I deviated considerably from the line of conduct he pointed out to me, I retained his friendship and correspondence to the last year of his life.

In the course of the winter succeeding my matriculation, during a short vacation, Sir John Borlase Warren, Mr. Newcomb, and myself, fellow-students, agreed to make a trip to Holland, to see and partake of the amusements on the ice in that country. Though the passage from Harwich to Helvoetsluys was generally performed in seven or eight hours, it took us three days; during which time the frost broke up. We had two fellow passengers, Mr. Crawford, a considerable English merchant at Rotterdam, and a Dutch gentleman of the name of Bergsma, an

Admiraltats Heer of Amsterdam. When we landed at Helvoet, we hired waggons to convey our luggage to The Brille, a small fortified town at the mouth of the Meuse. The road was execrable. Each waggon had four horses and two drivers; one managed the leaders, while the other had to guide the carriage; so we determined to walk, as the footway was excellent, composed entirely of cockle-shells, and kept in admirable order. The wind and tide being favourable for Rotterdam, we hired a boat for that place, and were within a few miles of it, when we struck on a sunken pile, which kept us pretty busy in lading out the water until we were taken on board another boat which conveyed us to the town. On our arrival at Rotterdam Mr. Crawford gave us an invitation to dinner the next day, and said he would introduce the English of our party to a ball in the evening, excusing himself to Mr. Bergsma, as, by the regulations, the company must be exclusively English. Mr. Crawford's house and furniture of every sort were in the old English fashion, with which our reception, and the entertainment, dress, and manners at the ball, all corresponded.

Mr. Bergsma was to set out for Amsterdam next morning, when I (being always an early riser) accompanied him the first stage to Gouda, a place famous for the manufacture of smoking pipes. The church here was a handsome building; the windows of it were composed of black and white stained glass, and resembled so many immense copper

plates. The peasantry, in general, wore wooden shoes ; but otherwise were all well clad.

The town of Rotterdam has to boast of having been the residence, if not the birth-place of Bayle, in a large house, handsomely situated, and very different from that which was shown to us as the one where Erasmus was born and lived, which was a small habitation in an obscure alley. As we paraded the streets of Rotterdam on our arrival, we were at a loss to account for the frequent salutations of our companions, when we could see no persons in the streets for whom, as we thought, they were likely to be intended ; but upon inquiry, we found that most of the houses had small mirrors suspended outside them, in such a manner as to reflect the passengers in the street to other mirrors in the interior of the room, where the family resided, and it was to those their passing friends made their obeisances.* During a heavy shower we had got under a shed which projected from the end of a house by the road side ; the owner came out and told us we must decamp and brave the storm, or

* This practice is still continued, as we learn from the author of a "A Few Weeks on the Continent," published in No. 252 of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, October 27, 1838.

"In our various walks we were much amused with observing that every house has one or more mirrors in frames, fixed by means of iron rods on the outsides of the windows, and at such an angle as to command a complete view either of the doorway or of all that passes on the street. These looking-glasses are universal in Holland, both in town and country, and are the solace of the ladies while following their domestic avocations."—[ED.]

pay him two stivers, about one halfpenny each, for our shelter. Our plan of skating having failed, we went to the Hague and to Delft, where we were shown the Arbour where the Prince of Orange had been shot. The Hague was a small village with a large square in the centre, where there happened to be a muster of Dutch troops; they were handsome men, and more alert than we expected to find them. There were many canals, which met here, and travelling by them was very cheap; the usual rate was about six stivers for ten miles. The passage boats were divided into two compartments, the roof or cabin of which generally held eight or ten, who paid a higher rate, and the waist of the boat for the common people. You might engage any number of seats on the roof, by paying double price for those you did not occupy. On returning to Rotterdam, we were conveyed some miles in a private boat, which was very elegantly fitted up; and many of these were kept in each town. The privilege of dropping the track-line of all boats in going to and from Rotterdam had been settled by old custom, and consequently there was never any confusion; the punishment was very severe on those who neglected to obey the law. Some immense sum had been offered by a village near Rotterdam for the privilege of holding up their track-line in coming to market at Rotterdam in the morning, but was refused.

Our stock purse being now nearly exhausted, we returned to Harwich, and fortunately Mr. Newcomb

had an uncle, a clergyman, in the neighbourhood, to whom he introduced us ; and he not only received and treated us most hospitably, but replenished our purse and enabled us to return to Cambridge.

[Here there is a blank of two or three pages in the original manuscript.]

The monthly balls at Huntingdon at this time were more attended to on account of the militia being quartered there for their yearly exercise, and of Lord Charles Montague (who was Lieutenant-Colonel) and his lady having lodgings in the town. At one of the balls it happened that I danced with Lady Montague, after which Lord Charles invited me to supper ; from this a friendship commenced between us, which terminated only by his death some years after.

Miss Ray, a most celebrated singer, was at this time under the protection of Lord Sandwich, who had private theatricals at Hinchinbrook, where she used to sing, and happy was the student who could procure a ticket of admission. At these performances the company invited by his Lordship retired with him. His servant then brought in tumblers of negus, and plates of thin slices of bread and butter with cold meat between each, and presented them to the spectators. This, I suppose, first gave them the name of *Sandwiches*.

A young clergyman, who had frequently attended these parties, became so enamoured of Miss Ray,

who was really well-looking but not handsome, that he repeatedly urged her to accept his hand in marriage. She constantly refused him ; and urged by jealousy or vexation, he followed her up to London, and on his leaving Covent Garden theatre one evening, he shot her as she was stepping into her carriage : he then fired a second pistol at his own head, which failed in its effects. He was seized and executed.

Lord Charles introduced me to the Duke of Manchester, his brother, who offered me a commission in the Huntingdon militia. It was at that time officered by the following noblemen and gentlemen : the Duke of Manchester, who was Colonel ; Lord C. Montague, Lieutenant-Colonel ; Lords Sandwich, Ludlow, and Carysfort, with Sir Thomas Aprice, and Mr. White, a gentleman of fortune in the county. But when the American war broke out, and the militia was put on permanent duty, our Lords retired.

About this time I found my way to London, where I was introduced to a solicitor, a Mr. Greenway, who pointed out to me the means of supplying any deficiency in my allowance, by my selling annuities at the rate of six years' purchase, to pay arrears of former loans. From the time when I first mounted my epaulettes, I paid but little attention to either college rules or exercises, and merely kept the necessary terms. Lord Charles Montague had been appointed Governor of South Carolina some years previous, but had got permission to return to Eng-

land for the recovery of his and his wife's health. He was now ordered to repair to his government ; some suspected it was because his brother the Duke of Manchester was strong in opposition to Lord North's administration, although the discontents now rising in the colonies fully justified the order. He then proposed that I should accompany him to Falmouth, where the Tartar frigate, Captain Meadows, waited to receive him and his family, to convey them to Charleston. On his road to Falmouth he visited Sir George Young, Mr. Lethbridge, Sir Thomas Auckland, Mr. Bassett, and others, to whom he introduced me as a young friend of his, and thus led me into a respectable line of acquaintance, which I might never have possessed otherwise, and of which I took advantage in a subsequent tour to Devonshire.

When we arrived at Falmouth, there was still a good part of the long vacation to spare, and it required very little persuasion to induce me to cross the Atlantic with my friends. Lord Charles then invested me with the character of his private Secretary, in which character I was taken on board the Tartar. He and his Lady suffered so dreadfully at sea, that Captain Meadows took a course by the Azores, in the hope of smoother weather. Fayal was the first port we made, and we were invited by the British Consul to spend the time while there at his residence. The arrival of the Tartar was very opportune for the inhabitants of that place, as there was no medical man resident in the island.

Mr. Thomson, an Irish gentleman of superior talents and medical knowledge, was surgeon of the Tartar, and he had the satisfaction of completely eradicating a severe dysentery which raged in the town, and more particularly in a neighbouring convent, where it had carried off some of the sisterhood. On one of his visits to the convent he permitted me to accompany him. Mr. Thomson was admitted into the interior of the house, and I was shown into the parlour, which was divided into two parts by a double cross row of iron grating. In a short time a young person in the costume of the order entered on the other side of the grating: the customary salutations passed in French, in which tongue neither of us was a great proficient; but we soon discoursed as familiarly as if we had been old acquaintances. She told me her father had been a merchant at Fayal, but had died suddenly, leaving her but a small provision, which she had thrown into the funds of the convent, where she found herself extremely happy. On my taking leave of her, she presented me with a small bag of her own making, composed of stained fibres of the leaf of the aloes, and desired me to remember sister Celestine, in a tone which I thought told another tale. At the age I then was, few females who had youth and good manners could displease; but a nun was a peculiarly interesting object, and of course I was most desperately in love during the remainder of our voyage, and until I became acquainted with the more languid but fairer faces of the Carolinians.

The bickerings between England and the Colonies were becoming serious when we left England. These were aggravated by many trifles soon after our arrival in Charleston. The 45th number of the *North Briton*, containing a letter to the king, had made that number, as it were, the mystical representative of liberty in England, and had been adopted in America. A statue of Mr. Pitt had been erected opposite the court-house in Charleston, which was surrounded by an iron railing. The Assembly among the items of expenditure had voted £45 for painting the rails of it. This vote was looked upon by Lord Charles as an indirect insult to the government ; and after attempting in vain to prevent that sum being included in the account of general expenditure, he dissolved the Assembly. The manner of dissolving it was thus : A peace officer, preceded by a drummer, bore the proclamation of the Governor, which was read in the house, and the dissolution took place thereon. Each member now returned to his colony, and writs were issued for a new election to take place. The people returned the same members that they had before elected. These persons being now aware that if their conduct was not agreeable to government, a second dissolution would take place, ordered the doors to be closed, and passed the same vote as before, refusing the others entrance. The drummer beat, and in vain the officer read the proclamation in the street ; the members within passed all the bills, and then opened their doors and were dissolved

according to law. The only resource the Governor now had, was to refuse his sanction to them, so that the whole year's expenditure of the state was thus left unprovided for.

Having spent nearly three months at Charleston, I got a passage from Captain Hayward to England, on board the *Swallow*, taking with me a racoon, an opossum, and a young bear. After a very rough passage I landed at Portsmouth—my racoon dead, my bear washed overboard, and my opossum lost in the cable tier—and I returned to Cambridge.

I have before mentioned my connexion with Mr. Greenway ; he was a *bon vivant* of much wit and conviviality ; and if his bills of costs were excessive, he repaid them by partaking of the pleasures of the table with his young clients, and introducing them to all the extravagancies of London.

The continuation of the annuity business became at last so burdensome, that at one time I paid above £900 per annum. I applied to my father and mother, craving their assistance. My father answered that his estate being under settlement, he could not raise any money. My mother would have assisted me, but it should be in her own way : she desired me to go abroad, and permit her to compound with my creditors. To this I would not consent. I now applied to my friend Greenway, who suggested that as in the course of a year I should attain the age of twenty-five, and by my grandfather's will I was then to become his sole executor, and should have power over his personal estate, I might

then sell out of the funds as much as would relieve my necessities ; and as to the entail of my grandfather's fortune, it could be secured by mortgage on the Killyleagh estate to the uses of my grandfather's will, and that if I married and had heirs, it was natural the father's debts should be paid by selling part of the Killyleagh or the Rowan property. I determined on taking his advice. My immediate wants being supplied, I retired to a house at Spilsby in Lincolnshire, belonging to my friend Charles Brackenbury, a fellow collegian, and on my return to London I put Greenway's plan into execution. It would have been well, had I only sold as much stock as would have relieved my necessities ; but I sold out a much larger sum. I then hired a house at Bedford on Hounslow Heath, and had lodgings in London ; and having plenty of cash at command, thought nothing of expense. My coachman was a very smart young man, whom I had engaged with an excellent character ; but it appeared afterwards, he was at that time known among his companions by the soubriquet of "*Sixteen-string-Jack*," which he had acquired, not, as from the sequel might be supposed, from his frequent escapes from the gallows, but from an immense tuft of ribbons he wore at the knees of his breeches—the fashion of knee-buckles having then been given up for ribbons. This man was afterwards hanged for highway robbery. I had discharged him previously, for insolent behaviour to a citizen, who had drawn his buggy too close to my phaeton at Epsom races.

From the condition of my hunters while I lived in this place, I am certain they were used during the night on Hounslow Heath, from which there was a back entrance to my yard. During the time he lived with me, I had lamed one of my carriage horses, and Windsor fair being the next day, Jack advised my going there to buy a match for the other. Upon my expressing a doubt whether I had a sufficiency of cash, Jack offered me a £50 note; but fortunately I did not find any to suit, and thus escaped possibly being implicated in passing a stolen note.

About this time, Mr. Topham who had been my contemporary at Cambridge, and who was then the editor of the "*World*," a new and fashionable paper, gave a series of characters of the young men who then figured about London, and who had been educated at Westminster or Eton schools. The following appeared under the head of

" WESTMINSTER.

" HAMILTON—Every thing is the creature of accident. As that works upon time and place, so are the vicissitudes which follow: vicissitudes that reach through the whole allotment of men—even to the charm of character, and the qualities which produce it.

" Physically speaking, human nature can redress itself of climate, can generate warmth in high latitudes, and cold at the equator; but in respect to mind and manners, from the law of latitude there is no appeal. Man, like the plants that grow for him, has a proper sky and soil: with them to flourish; without them to fade. Through

either kingdom, vegetable and moral, in situations that are aquatic, the Alpine nature cannot live !

“ All this applies to Hamilton—wasting himself at Westminster !

“ ‘ Wild Nature’s vigour working at his root.’

His situation should have been accordingly, where he might have spread wide and struck deep !

“ With more than boyish aptitudes and abilities, he should not thus have been lost among boys. His incessant intrepidity, his restless curiosity, his undertaking spirit, all indicated early maturity—all should have led to pursuits, if not better, at least of more spirit and moment than the mere mechanism of dead language !

“ This, by Hamilton disdaining as a business what as an amusement perhaps might have delighted him, was deemed a dead letter ! and as such neglected, while he bestowed himself on other mechanism presenting more material objects to the mind.

“ Exercises out of school took place of exercises within. Not that, like Sackville or Hawkins, he had a ball at every leisure moment in his hand ; but preferably to Fives or Cricket, he would amuse himself in mechanical pursuits, little in themselves, but great as to what they might have been convertible.

“ In the fourth form he produced a *red shoe* of his own making ; and though he never made a *pocket watch*, and probably might mar many, yet all the interior machinery he knew and could name : the whole movement he took to pieces, and replaced.

“ The man who is to find out the longitude, cannot have beginnings better than these. Count Bruhl, since Mudge’s death, the best watch-maker of his time, did not raise more early wonder.

“ Besides this, Hamilton was to be found in every daring oddity. Lords Burlington and Kent, in all their rage for pediments, were nothing to him in a rage for pediments. For often has the morning caught him scaling the high pediments of the school-door, and at peril of his life, clambering down, opening the door within, before the boy who kept the gate could come with the key. His evenings set upon no less perils: in pranks with gunpowder, in leaping from unusual heights into the Thames! As a practical geographer of London, and heaven only knows how many miles round, *omniscient Jackson* himself could not know more.

“ All this, surely, was intrinsically right—wrong only in its direction. Had he been sent to Woolwich, he might have come out, if not a rival of the Duke of Richmond, at least a first-rate engineer. In economic arts and improvements nothing less than national, he might have been the Duke of Bridgewater of Ireland. Had the sea been his profession, Lord Mulgrave might have been less alone in the rare union of science and enterprise.

“ But all this capability of usefulness and fair fame, was brought to nought by the obstinate absurdity of the people about him. Nothing could wean them from Westminster. His grandfather, Rowan, or Rohan, fellow of Trinity College, and afterwards King’s Counsel in Ireland, having quitted that kingdom, resided in Rathbone-place, possessed of great wealth, tenacious of his opinions, and absolute nonsense was his conduct to his grandson. He persevered in the school; where, if a boy disaffects book-knowledge, his books are only bought and—sold. And after Westminster, when the old man died, as if solicitous that every thing about his grave, but poppy and mandragora, should grow downwards, his will de-

clared his grandson the heir, but not to inherit till he graduated at Cambridge.

“ To Cambridge therefore he went ; where having pursued his studies, as it is called, in a ratio inverse and descending, he might have gone on from bad to worse, and so, as many do, putting a grave face upon it, he might have had his degree. But his animal spirits and love of bustle could not go off thus undistinguished ; and so, after coolly attempting to throw a tutor into the Cam—after shaking all Cambridge from its propriety by a night’s frolic, in which he climbed the sign-posts and changed the principal signs, he was rusticated, till the good humour of the university returning, he was readmitted, and enabled to satisfy his grandfather’s will !

“ Through the intercourse of private life he is very amiable. The same suavity of speech, courteous attentions, and general good nature he had when a boy, are continued and improved. Good qualities the more to be prized, as the less probable, from his bold and eager temper, from the turbulence of his wishes, and the hurry of his pursuits !”

[The society into which Rowan was thrown, at that period of his life when almost all impressions are stamped most deeply on the mind, had a certain and inevitable tendency to produce and foster those political sentiments for which he afterwards became so distinguished. Those whom he mentions as frequent visitors at his grandfather’s house were, all of them, men of eminent literary character and liberal political opinions. Bonnell Thornton, pro-

fessedly a man of letters, contributed largely to the principal periodicals of the day, and was particularly concerned in "The Student, or Oxford Monthly Miscellany," and the "Connoisseur." He also assisted Warner and Colman in a translation of Plautus ; and in various modes successfully displayed a taste for ridicule and satire. Churchill and Lloyd were congenial spirits. Johnson has given them a place in his "Lives of the Poets." Lloyd, according to Wilkes, as quoted by the biographer, "was mild and affable in private life, of gentle manners, and very engaging in conversation. He was an excellent scholar, an easy natural poet." His chief poem "The Actor," addressed to Bonnell Thornton, Esq. had such success that it "probably incited Churchill to try his powers on a similar subject," and accordingly he produced his "Rosciad," which was universally read and admired. "At this period," says Johnson, in his life of Churchill, "the political dissensions increasing every day, at length became so violent, that few persons escaped being influenced in some manner by them. Mr. Churchill had contracted an intimacy with the heads of the party then called the opposition, and, agreeably to the warmth of his temper, endeavoured to promote the interest of those with whom he was connected, by every effort in his power." The junction of Dr. Lucas to such a triumvirate of wits as Thornton, Lloyd, and Churchill, could not fail to keep alive the political excitement. In this "indefatigable Tribune's writings," as the redoubtable Captain Rock testifies,

“the first dawnings of a national and Irish feeling are to be found.” For his able vindication of the rights of his fellow citizens, he experienced the usual consequences*—he was idolized by the people—then prosecuted—driven into exile—restored—honoured with a seat in the House of Commons as the representative of the city of Dublin—and had his statue in marble, holding Magna Charta in his hand, and standing on a pedestal adorned with a figure of liberty in bas relief, erected in the Royal Exchange by his friends and admirers†—in Ireland a most rare, if not an unprecedented and singular honor!

From the paper in “THE WORLD,” though coloured, perhaps, a little too highly, we may learn that a fondness for distinction formed a prominent feature in Mr. Rowan’s character, and that he sought it not only in trifles, but in ways more suited

* “ ‘The Appeal’ of Sir Richard Cox charged Lucas with being a Papist, because he was a patriot.”—WYSE’S *History of the Catholic Association*, vol. 1, p. 46.—In the title page of his works, published in London, 1751, Lucas styles himself “a Free Citizen of Dublin while Dublin was, now an Exile for the cause of TRUTH and the LIBERTY of his country.” And elsewhere he says: “I have attended constantly, closely, strictly to my duty; I have broken my health, impaired my fortune, hurt my family, and lost an object dearer to me than life, by engaging in this painful, perilous, thankless service.” He died on the 4th of November, 1771, leaving behind him the character of a man whom, from his first entrance into political life, no promises or offers could seduce from untainted patriotism.—RYAN’S *Worthies of Ireland*, vol. 2, pp. 386, 387.

Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.

† WHITELAW and WALSH’S *History of Dublin*.

to his active and courageous spirit. The love of approbation, under proper direction and controul, leads to the most beneficial results ; but if indulged to excess under mistaken views of man's true honor and glory, it may lead only to the bad pre-eminence of guilt.—It may create a Howard or a Cataline, a saint or a devil. While Mr. Rowan was at Westminster and Cambridge—to take an active part in contriving and executing schemes of mischievous frolic, was deemed as necessary among youths of family and fortune, as duelling and its kindred iniquities among their seniors. The students of more than one school or university have been renowned for such acts, as, in our more civilized times, would inflict a merited stigma, but which were then considered as high and honourable achievements. Sir Jonah Barrington says that when he was at Dublin University, “the students were wild and lawless ;—an offence to one was considered as an offence to all ; and as the elder sons of most men of rank and fortune in Ireland, were then educated in Dublin college, it was dangerous to meddle with so powerful a set of students, who consequently did precisely what they chose (outside the college gates.) If they conceived offence against any body, the collegians made no scruple of bringing the offender into the court and pumping him well ; and their unanimity and number were so great, that it was quite impossible any youth could be selected for punishment. In my time, we used to break open what houses we pleased !

regularly beating the watch every night, except in our own parish, which we always kept in pay to lend us their poles wherewith to fight the others. In short our conduct was outrageous." In another passage the same amusing writer informs us that "the young gentlemen of the University occasionally forced themselves into the Pit, (of the Theatre) to revenge some insult real or imagined, to a member of their body, on which occasions all the ladies, well dressed men, and peaceable people generally decamped; and the young gentlemen as generally proceeded to beat or turn out the residue of the audience, and to break every thing that came within their reach. These exploits were by no means uncommon; and the number and rank of the young culprits were so great, that (coupled with the impossibility of selecting the guilty) the college would have been nearly depopulated, and many of the great families of Ireland enraged beyond measure, had any of the students been expelled or even rusticated."

That similar practises prevailed at the great English seats of learning might be inferred, in want of more positive proof, from the following instances. Our hero, while at Westminster school, contrived with some other scholars bent on fun, to find his way at an unseasonable hour into the abbey, and to bring away the helmet of one of the statues, or armorial ensigns, in that venerable pile—a frolic which might have been followed by serious consequences—but which was considered by its

agents as a daring and heroic achievement.—While at Cambridge he and several of his fellow students were in the habit of meeting in each other's chambers, and indulging in rude and boisterous mirth. On one of these occasions they engaged in a rough sport, which led them to throw the furniture out of the windows, part of which fell on a gentleman's coach passing at the time. The coach stopped, and an explanation of so extraordinary a phenomenon was demanded. The students went out to explain and apologize, when the coachman using some insolent language, Mr. Rowan seized him in his powerful arms and flung him into the Cam. Happily he escaped drowning, and was restored to good temper by an application of the universal panacea—some pieces of bright and yellow gold. For this, or some similar exploits, Mr. Rowan incurred the penalty of rustication—and it was not improbably during its continuance, that he found a retreat where his time might be profitably spent, under good Dr. Enfield in Warrington Academy. This however is only offered as a conjecture. But it is certain that he was at that celebrated academy, rather perhaps as a visitor than a resident pupil, though the precise time has not been ascertained. He has been heard to say that Letitia Aikin, afterwards Mrs. Barbauld, was his first love—a declaration indicative of his taste and discrimination; for in mental and personal accomplishments few, if any, could vie with that excellent lady. Her biographer informs us that “she was

at this time possessed of great beauty, distinct traces of which she retained to the latest period of life. Her person was slender, her complexion exquisitely fair, with the bloom of perfect health; her features were regular and elegant, and her dark blue eyes beamed with the light of wit and fancy.”*

Another anecdote has been recorded of Mr. Rowan, highly characteristic of his daring and generous spirit. While quartered at Gosport, as Captain of Grenadiers in the Huntingdon militia, some person undertook for a bet to swim in his clothes from Gosport to Plymouth, but when brought to the trial, blenched, and refused to make the attempt. Rowan, supposing that the man could not afford to lose the bet though small, offered to take his place, and of course to win or pay. The offer was accepted, and many bets were made on the occasion, as he was to swim in his full regimental dress, and across a tide that runs with great impetuosity. Accordingly he slung his fusee on his back—for at that time grenadier officers, as well as private soldiers, carried fusees—and like another Cassius, “accoutred as he was, he plunged in,”

“ And breasted

The surge most swollen that met him; his bold head
’Bove the contentious waves he kept, and oar’d
Himself with his good arms, in lusty strokes,
To the shore that o’er his wave-worn basis bow’d,
As stooping to relieve him.”

* MRS. BARBAULD’S Works, edited, with a memoir of her life,
by Lucy Aiken.

When about half way across, he lost his grenadier cap, but performed the feat, and landed on the Portsmouth side amidst the cheers of the spectators and the congratulations of his friends and brother officers who followed him in boats. The person who lost refused to pay, saying the condition was, that he was to swim over *fully accoutred*, and that by losing his cap he lost the bet. Mr. Rowan asked his friends and the people around him, "What is your opinion?" "That the loser is no gentleman," answered they; "and if he does not pay, we will tie him to a boat and swim him over to Gosport in tow." "Very well," said Rowan; "I care little for myself, but I do for those who staked their money on me; and had you said I lost, as no time was mentioned, I should have borrowed another cap, tied it on, and while I was wet, have swum back to Gosport." The bets were all paid: and it may seem scarcely necessary to add, that two gold watches, which he was accustomed to carry, were, with his uniform, completely spoiled by the salt water.

Mr. Rowan's interview with Celestine the nun may remind the reader of a somewhat similar tale in the life of Edward Lord Herbert, written by himself:—and this is not the only instance of similitude in the histories of Mr. Rowan and the

* This, I presume, was a more arduous exploit than Lord Byron's and Lieutenant Ekenhead's swimming across the Hellespont.

philosopher of Cherbury. "Among the favours shewn me," says the latter, "I was brought to see a nun at Murino, who being an admirable beauty, and together singing extremely well, who was thought one of the rarities not only of that place but of the time; we came to a room opposite unto the cloyster, whence she coming on the other side of the grate betwixt us, sung so extremely well, that when she departed neither my Lord Ambassador nor his lady, who were then present, could find as much as a word of fitting language to return her for the extraordinary music she gave us; when I, being ashamed that she should go back without some testimony of the sense we held both of the harmony of her beauty and her voice, said in Italian, *Moria pur quando vuol, non bisogna mutar ni voce ni facia per esser un angelo*; 'Die whensoever you will, you neither need to change voice nor face to be an angel.' These words it seemed were fatal, for going thence to Rome, and returning shortly afterwards, I heard she was dead in the mean time."

In Dublin, 1786, was published a small volume, entitled "Love and Madness, a story too true, in a series of letters," containing an account of the Miss Ray noticed in the memoir, which had been previously published in the *Hibernian Magazine* for 1779. In that article Miss Ray's character and accomplishments are compared to those of Sempronius in Sallust. She had numerous admirers; but

none so favoured as Mr. Hackman, a young military officer of fine person, cultivated mind, and captivating manners—full of sentimentality withal, of poetry, and the “Sorrows of Werter.” After spending some time in Ireland, in his military capacity, he exchanged the sword for the gown and entered into orders. Miss Ray, in the mean time, had put herself under the protection of Lord Sandwich, by whom she had five children. Notwithstanding this, such was the infatuation of Hackman, that he urged her to become his wife, and with so much importunity that she was obliged peremptorily to forbid his presence and correspondence. On this he “charged his pistols with the kindest letter she ever wrote him,” determined to blow out his brains in her presence, as she came out of the theatre. He failed in the attempt; and seeing her offer her hand to one whom he supposed a favoured lover, instigated by jealousy and madness, he perpetrated the rash deed by which his mistress fell, and his own life was forfeited to the laws. While in prison, he received the following note:—

“ TO MR. ——— IN NEWGATE.

“ 17 April, '79.

“ If the murderer of Miss ——— wishes to live, the man he has most injured will use all his interest to procure his life.”

For this most generous conduct of Lord Sandwich, the unhappy criminal expressed due gratitude, while he declined the offer, stating that his “wishes were for death, not for life.”—ED.]

CHAPTER III.

Retrospect of a journey to Ireland during his minority—Matthias O'Byrne—his history—Adventure at Vauxhall—Introduction to Lord Lyttleton—O'Byrne's generosity—Suicide of a distinguished gambler—Remarkable dream, and death of Lord Lyttleton—Death of O'Byrne—Mr. Rowan visits Rouen—Holker, the first who established the cotton manufacture in France—Count O'Rourke—Dr. Franklin—George Robert Fitzgerald—Anecdote—Major Baggs—Mr. Rowan acts as a friend to Fitzgerald in his duel with Baggs—Account of the hostile meeting—Mr. Rowan returns to Paris—[Additions.]

NOTWITHSTANDING the injunctions in my grandfather's will, I made more than one trip across the channel to see Ireland during my minority. Parkgate was the usual port from which passengers sailed for Dublin. Those who chose to go by Holyhead, hired horses at Chester, which cost a moidore each ; but they only set out when six or eight passengers assembled.

At the ferry of Conway an old woman had a cabin, where she lighted signals for the ferrymen to come over from the town. To get to the boat you were obliged to take guides along the shore, which they said abounded with dangerous quicksands, changing with every tide. This was the first day's journey ; the next day you had to cross another ferry to reach Bangor, and then cross over

Penmaen Mawr ; or if the tide was out, you went along the coast. In one of these journeys I met Matthias O'Byrne, whom I esteemed till his death, as one of my earliest and most sincere friends. He was of an old Catholic family, and had been sent to Germany in his youth, to acquire that education which was then refused to a Catholic at home. His father, who was a wine-merchant in Dublin, died during his absence, and all his property was divided (according to law in those days) among his family at his death. He had entered the Austrian service, and on his father's death he came over to Ireland to receive his share of the property ; but his elder brother was a *bon vivant*, and had dissipated almost the whole of the old man's money.

O'Byrne had nothing now to rely on but a sub-lieutenancy in the German service, to which, when I met him, he was returning. We travelled together to London in a stage ; and having one evening gone to Vauxhall together, we found the Rev. Mr. Bate, editor of the *Morning Post*, in a squabble with the honorable Mr. Lyttleton and some of his party, whom he accused of having behaved impertinently to his wife and her sister Mrs. Hartley. Nothing could be more likely, as they were both fine women, and Vauxhall was a place to which young men were accustomed to go to sport the latter part of the day, in search of adventures. Mr. Bate had fixed upon Mr. Lyttleton, and lifting his cane threatened to strike him. This roused O'Byrne's military feelings, which were encreased

by the physical disproportion of the antagonists : Bate being a strong athletic figure, while the other presented that of an emaciated, but elegant debauchee. O'Byrne rushed forward, and with an ejaculation, the tone of which denoted his birth-place, swore, if he struck the gentleman, he would run his sword through his body ; but added, if nothing but boxing would satisfy him, he would take a round with him. Lyttleton was by no means ill pleased to have found a substitute. Bate's ladies accepted of apologies, and O'Byrne was invited to sup with Mr. Lyttleton's party. In the course of the evening O'Byrne mentioned his situation and place of destination. Mr. Lyttleton likewise was to set out for Vienna in a few days : his party consisted of a lady and her maid ; and the fourth place in the carriage was offered to O'Byrne, which he accepted.

While on the road, they were overtaken by an express which brought an account of Lord Lyttleton's death. Mr. now Lord Lyttleton, offered to reconduct O'Byrne to London, and invited him to reside in his house till he could procure him a commission in the British service, and promised to assist his promotion. For about one year he remained Lord Lyttleton's guest, and made several friends by his constant good humour and well placed eccentricity ; but my Lord seemed to have forgotten his promises, and O'Byrne felt himself in a state of dependence from which he determined to relieve himself. Count Belgioso, the Austrian am-

bassador in London, had commanded the regiment in which O'Byrne had served ; he waited on him, candidly laid his state before him, and through his interest with Lord Rochfort, the Count procured for him an ensigncy in the 13th regiment. In that capacity, with a light wallet, and a lighter purse, he marched with a recruiting party to Brighton, and quartered at Shergold's.

A Mr. Salvador, a rich Jew merchant, young, gay, fond of company and play, was confined to his room then by a fit of gout. He desired Shergold to invite the officer who had come with the recruiting party to dine with him. Salvador was pleased with his companion ; they chatted, they drank, and they played, and in a short time O'Byrne returned to London in a chaise and four with about £1,000 in his purse. With this nest-egg he obtained leave to recruit in London—was proposed at most of the fashionable clubs, where he met numbers whose society he had cheered while he was a visitor of Lord Lyttleton's. He continued to play with the most constant success, nor did I ever hear a whisper against his integrity. He took a house in Pall Mall, and was both invited by and entertained persons of the highest rank. At one time his success was such, that he had realised about £2,000 per annum, and had a good sum at his banker's to call on. His prosperity did not change his character ; he was never known to be denied to those who had been his early companions—particularly if they wanted his assistance. I must relate one transac-

tion as a proof of his friendly conduct towards a young man, one of his acquaintances. The daughter of a rich citizen, Mr. Jones, at Hammersmith, had become attached to this handsome young man. On his proposal of marriage, the father asked him his means of support, to which he answered evasively ; and he recounted this to O'Byrne in despair. " Well," said O'Byrne, " you did not lose your presence of mind I hope ; come along with me." He took him to his bankers, and desired the whole sum he possessed in their hands to be laid out in the public funds in his friend's name. " Now," said O'Byrne, " take the old gentleman to the bank to-morrow, and that will satisfy him." He did so, and obtained his consent to the marriage. Mr. Jones, however, died suddenly, previous to the day on which the ceremony was to take place ; the lady was under age, and her uncle (a lawyer) then became her guardian ; and as there was no time to be lost, O'Byrne gave him his chaise and the money to convey them to Gretna Green.

I must be excused from mentioning one more trait of my deceased friend's character. During his prosperity, a party of us had engaged some persons to dine at the Shakspeare, who excelled in Bacchanalian songs ; but they disappointed us ; and while we were waiting for half price at the theatre, some of us stuck to the claret, while others, among whom were Felton, Harvey, and O'Byrne, commenced what they called chicken hazard. On settling their accounts, Mr. Harvey owed O'Byrne

£800 ; he said he had but £500 about him, and proposed that they should play double or quits for that sum. O'Byrne accepted the challenge, and his luck was such, that the debt shortly amounted to the sum of £190,000. O'Byrne then asked Harvey how much he was worth in the world ? Harvey answered warmly : " Sir, if it was £200,000 you shall be paid." And in truth he had within a ring fence in Oxfordshire, about £4,000 per annum. O'Byrne then said, " You are the first man I ever won a large sum from, after having dined in his company ; and to teach you not to be so headstrong in future, I will keep £10,000, and throw with you double or quits for the remainder of the whole sum." The few who had remained in the room, were requested by Harvey not to speak of the business, and he and O'Byrne then went away in the carriage of the former. Next day, on entering the Cocoa Tree coffee-house in Pall Mall, which was our usual place of evening meeting, I was surprised at hearing O'Byrne relating the adventure of the evening before. I asked him why he had broken his word to Harvey ; and his answer was—" You know I went away with Harvey ; and as he had desired the affair to be kept secret, I asked whether he would tell Kitty of what had passed ; he said he never kept any thing from her ; and I was determined Kitty should not have the first telling of the story." In less than three years after, Mr. Harvey was completely ruined—bought a brace of pistols at Warden's shop, went

into the yard on pretence of trying them, and shot himself.

Calling one morning, with O'Byrne, on Lord Lyttleton, to compliment him on a very spirited speech he had made the previous night in the House of Lords, we found him recounting a dream he had the same night. He said he thought he had been awakened by a noise similar to the fluttering of a bird in the cage ; that he looked up and saw the figure of a female, who addressed him : "*Lyttleton, beware, for you have only three days to live.*" He was engaged to go that day to a country house he had purchased from O'Kelly, near Epsom, with Lady Flood and the two Misses Amflets : and the remainder of this story was repeated to me by George, his favourite attendant servant, as follows. On the third day after his dream, Lord Lyttleton was attacked by a sickness during dinner, and obliged to leave the table : it lasted, however, but a short time ; and on his return, he ordered a favourite dish, eggs dressed in a particular mode, which he eat with appetite, and thought no more of the matter. In the evening he was pointing out to the ladies the excellence of some prints of Hogarth's, and on taking leave of the company, he looked at his watch and said : "*It is now near twelve o'clock ; I think, girls, I shall cheat the ghost this time.*" He then went into his bed-room, and while putting on his night-gown, said : "*It is very fortunate I threw up that nasty stuff ; however, I will take some tincture of rhubarb.*" George poured some into a glass,

with water, and took up Lord Lyttleton's tooth-pick case to stir it, when his master said : "*You dirty dog, get a spoon.*" George went down stairs, and on his return, found him speechless in his chair, and in a short time he expired.

To return to O'Byrne. After his income being reduced by bad luck, (which he said had pursued him from the moment he had staked £1,000 against a seat in the Irish Parliament,) he went to Bath, and being engaged to dine with a friend a few miles off, while scolding the postillion for not driving faster, he burst a blood-vessel, and died in the chaise.

I then went to reside at Rouen, where I became acquainted with a gentleman of the name of Holker, who had established the first cotton manufactory in France. He had been engaged in that manufacture in Manchester ; but having been implicated in the rebellion of 1745, he was confined in Newgate, in the same room with a Mr. Dickinson, a sufferer in the same cause. Here they contrived to break a hole through the wall, over some low buildings which were on that side of the prison, and suspending a rope from thence, Mr. Dickinson descended first, but Holker, who was a lustier man, stuck fast. In this dilemma Mr. D. had the fortitude and friendship to return by the rope, and enlarge the hole so as to extricate his companion. They both arrived safe in France, where Mr. Dickinson, who had no profession, continued to live with his friend Holker. Mr. Holker, previous to establishing this

manufacture, presented to the British minister a memorial of his views, setting forth the advantages likely to accrue to himself and to France from the introduction of that branch of trade, and promising to forego them, if he was permitted to return to England. This was refused; he established the factory, and his son was at this time Inspector-General of all the foreign manufactures of France.

I also became acquainted with Count O'Rourke, who was suing the Duchess De Cresne for the amount of several of her notes of hand. He was called on to prove what value he had given for them. Among a list of various presents to her, he inserted a phaeton and a pair of poneys, with a separate charge for breaking them to harness. In his plaidoyer, he called himself *O'Rourke Prince of Breffny, &c. &c.* The gentleman who defended the Duchess, played so successfully on this demand of the Irish prince against the Duchess De Cresne, as to raise great mirth in the court, and so exasperated the Count, that he started up on the advocates' table, and seized the lawyer by the nose. All became confusion, and O'Rourke was committed to prison; from which, however, Louis XVI. almost immediately released him.

From Rouen, after a short visit to England, I went to Paris. Although the war with America was then going on, Paris was thronged with English; and the only impediment to the intercourse between the two nations, was in being obliged to go thither by Ostend instead of Calais. I was politely

received by all the authorities there, and became acquainted with Dr. Franklin, which I esteemed no small honor. I received a visit from an old friend, who had the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the British army, accompanied by a lieutenant of a man-of-war, of old standing, but without interest, and of course without hope of promotion. Their object was to obtain commissions in the American army and navy : they applied to me to introduce them to Dr. Franklin. The Doctor received them politely ; but said he was not authorised to make any military appointments ; yet was certain every attention would be paid to them, should they go to America. This was a risk they did not choose to venture ; and some years after, the one died commanding a regiment of loyal Americans, who were to serve only in the islands ; and the other a commodore in the British navy.

During my first residence at Paris, a circumstance occurred which produced a kind of acquaintance with George Robert Fitzgerald ; although, at Fontainebleau, his character for high play and duelling had determined me against forming any with him, though he was in great favor even at court. I had an English horse, which I meant to sell, and for which I asked 100 guineas. Mr. Fitzgerald came to see him, agreed to the price, and gave me an order on Sir John Lambert, his banker. This occurred at Fontainebleau, and I sent the order to Perigaux to receive the cash. When I came to Paris I found Sir John had made several apologies, but

the money was not paid. My friends bantered me for having, after all my caution, made the acquaintance and lost my horse. However I wrote a note to Mr. Fitzgerald, saying that I feared the horse had not answered his expectations, and therefore enclosed his draught on Sir John Lambert, and should desire my servant to call for the horse at his stables. This note I took myself to his stables, and desired his groom to bring the horse out; he did so. I made my servant change the halter and lead the horse to my stable, and gave his groom the note with my compliments for his master.

Instead of the cartel which my friends assured me must ensue, I received a polite letter from Mr. Fitzgerald, apologising for Sir John Lambert's not having paid his order, and requesting, should I again think of selling the horse, that I would let him know. Here our intercourse ended for the present, except in common civilities when we casually met.

As I was one evening leaving the Comedie Italienne, I saw my friend Captain Williamson, (son of Sir Hedworth Williamson, of Durham) coming down stairs from the upper boxes, and having some friends to sup with me, asked him to join us. He answered he would, had he not invited Mr. Fitzgerald to go home with him. As Mr. Fitzgerald was among the crowd a few steps higher, I could not avoid asking him, and he accepted my invitation. Major Baggs was in the lobby below waiting for his carriage, but we had no acquaintance with

him. As soon as Fitzgerald reached the foot of the stairs, he advanced to Baggs saying, "I hear, Sir, that you report I owe you £300, which you cannot get from me?" "Yes, and more," said Baggs. In the course of the discussion the lie was given by Baggs to Fitzgerald. In those days we all wore swords: Fitzgerald laying his hand on his, insisted on going out immediately. Baggs refused, but said he would fight him in a clock-case the next day, if he pleased. All this passed in English, but, Mr. Fitzgerald having drawn his glove across the Major's face, on his refusing to go out immediately, the latter threw his chapeau bras at him, damning him for a scoundrel. This roused the guard, and they seized Baggs. My carriage being at the door at the moment, Mr. Fitzgerald stepped into it and drove to my hotel. I followed with Williamson in his carriage, who, as we drove home, informed me that the report was, that a Mr. Sandford had been invited by Mr. Fitzgerald to accompany him to sup with Major Baggs, who kept a kind of open house, but to whom Sandford was a stranger. Sandford lost a large sum of money at play, and the dispute was about a division of the booty. The Duke of Chartres was one of the party, and we all expected a message from the Major; but none either came or was sent to his hotel. In the evening, however, Mr. Fitzgerald's servant came to inform him that a guard was set on his room. I then offered Mr. Fitzgerald a bed in my hotel, that he might not be arrested. Two days passed without any thing from

Baggs. In the evening of the third, I went to the opera, where I met Major Baggs, attended by his guard. After the piece was over, the Major was recounting the affair to some Frenchmen, who were in the saloon, and concluded by saying that Mr. Fitzgerald had gone off, and had not been heard of since. I then accosted Mr. Baggs, and told him in French, that if he really did not know where to find Mr. Fitzgerald, I believed he was the only Englishman who was ignorant of where he could be found. The next morning Captain O'Toole, an Irish gentleman in the marine service of France, came to my lodgings, and asked for Mr. Fitzgerald, who referred him to a Mr. Hodges, a West Indian, one of the play set, who would act as his friend. Two days elapsed before any thing could be agreed on between the seconds concerning their meeting. Mr. Fitzgerald insisted on going to the field with swords as well as pistols, that if the latter did not decide the matter, the swords should. Baggs declared no swords should be taken, but arm chairs, flasks of powder, and bags of bullets. At last it was agreed that Baggs being in custody in France, they should meet in the Austrian territory, on the first convenient spot between Valenciennes and * * * * *; that the parties should enter it at distant parts, each with a brace of loaded pistols, and be left to their own discretion as to the use they would make of them. The next day was appointed to set out. Early in the morning Mr. Hodges sent a note to Mr. Fitzgerald, stating that

he was attacked by a violent fit of the gout, and could not rise from his bed. This note was immediately sent to Major Baggs' hotel, but he had already left Paris. In this dilemma Mr. Fitzgerald threw himself on me to save his honor, and I consented to accompany him as his friend. Now, however, a new difficulty presented itself, which explained the fit of the gout. Fitzgerald drew me a bill for £100 on Messrs. Biddulph and Cox, to get cashed at my banker's, saying his banker, Sir John Lambert, was out of town. I took it to Monsieur Pauchard, whose answer was, that as soon as he had heard of its acceptance, he would advance the money, but not before. Fitzgerald then requested me to draw on Biddulph and Cox for the same sum, to whom he would write, and order it to be accepted and paid. This I declined, but put my name on his bill, for which he received the amount, and I need scarcely add that I had it to pay. We then set off and arrived at Valenciennes. Mr. Fitzgerald then told me, that many persons might suppose that he really owed the money to Major Baggs, but that he would rather fight than pay, and he desired me to call on the Major and ask in what manner he became indebted to him. Major Baggs received me very politely, and while reciting a long list of sums he had paid for Mr. Fitzgerald, I took out my memorandum book ; but the Major immediately interrupted me, saying he could not permit any thing to be written in his presence. I answered, having delivered my message, I had now nothing more to

do, as I could not trust my memory with such details as he was entering into. When I was at the door the Major requested me to stop a moment, and said : “ Sir, you found me in the act of writing to my son, who is of an age to speak to men ; and I have desired him, if I should fall, to revenge my death ; and I request you will say so to Mr. Fitzgerald.” I replied, that if he thought such information proper or necessary, he had better send it by his friend Mr. O’Toole. It was never delivered by either of us. As Captain O’Toole and I both reprobated the mode of their meeting, which had been consented to by Mr. Hodges and O’Toole, we agreed to precede the carriages on horseback in the morning, and that as soon as we perceived a spot in the Austrian territory adapted to the purpose, we should mark off eight paces, at which distance we should place them ; and they agreed to our decision, instead of that formerly insisted on. A short delay was occasioned by Mr. O’Toole having mislaid the ramrod of the Major’s pistols. I offered him the use of Mr. Fitzgerald’s ; but he declined it, saying that he had already lost a part of his skull in a similar affair with an officer of his regiment, by lending his pistols. The ramrod was soon found, and the gentlemen had taken their ground, when Major Baggs beckoned and spoke to Captain O’Toole, who came up to me, and apologizing for the suspicion, said he thought Mr. Fitzgerald might be *plastroné*. Fitzgerald, hearing what was said, threw off his coat and waistcoat,

when, to the great surprise of us all, he exhibited himself with his shirt tied close round his body, by a broad riband *couleur de rose*, while narrower ones closed his shirt-sleeves round the lower and upper joints of the arms. This, he explained to us afterwards, was a precaution necessary, from the terms first agreed upon for their meeting, by Messrs. Hodges and O'Toole. It now became my duty to examine the Major's body. On my advancing towards him, he unbuttoned all his coats, and throwing them open, said to me, "Sir, you may feel me." I replied, that the suspicion having originated with him, I must insist on his following Mr. Fitzgerald's example, and stripping, as he had done. He did so immediately. It was a strong frost, and the Major asked me might he put on his clothes again. To which Mr. Fitzgerald immediately answered: "Oh, let the Major be covered." They were now standing on the ground we had marked. Major Baggs sunk on his quarters, something like the Scottish lion; Fitzgerald stood as one who had made a lounge in fencing. They fired together, and were in the act of levelling their second pistols, when Major Baggs sunk on his side, saying, "Sir, I am wounded." "But you are not dead," replied Fitzgerald; and at the same moment discharged his second pistol at his fallen enemy. Baggs immediately started on his legs, and advanced on Fitzgerald, who throwing his pistol at him, quitted his station, and kept a zig-zag course across the field, Baggs following him. I saw the

flash of the Major's second pistol, and at the same moment Fitzgerald lay stretched on the ground. I was just time enough to catch Baggs as he was falling after having fired his second shot. He swooned from intense pain, the small bone of his leg being broken. Mr. Fitzgerald came up to us, saying, "We are both wounded ; let us go back to the ground." But Baggs was taken to his carriage. As I was assisting Fitzgerald, whose wound was in the fleshy part of his thigh, I could not avoid asking him how he came to discharge his second pistol. His answer was : "I should not have done so to any man but Baggs." I had the precaution, as it was an affair likely to make some noise in Paris, to draw up an exact account of all the occurrences during the day at Valenciennes, and immediately on our return, I read it to Captain O'Toole, who signed it with me. Major Baggs, thinking he would have better surgical aid at Brussels than at Valenciennes, went thither without delay. During the morning I had waited on the Governor of Valenciennes, to show him the report I had drawn up, and gave him a copy of it. I remained two days with Fitzgerald, and was preparing to return to Paris, when I received a message desiring me to call on the Governor. He told me that he had orders from Paris to send there all those concerned in the late duel under care of an exempt ; that he found Mr. Fitzgerald could not be removed as yet ; and that as Mr. O'Toole had accompanied his friend to Brussels, I was the only person liable to

the order he had received. "But," added he, "the first time you came to me, I think I saw something at your watch-chain like a mosaic jewel; are you a brother?" I told him I had been initiated while at Cambridge, and had been master of that lodge, and the jewel he had seen was one of past-master. On this he said, "Will you give me your word as a brother mason, that as soon as you arrive at Paris, you will go to the Hotel de Montmorenci, where you will get further orders. On my arrival in Paris, I did so, and the only issue was my leaving my card there, and receiving one in return."

[The Right Hon. Thomas Lord Lyttleton, noticed in the memoir, was the son of George Lord Lyttleton the poet and historian, and author of "Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul." He acquired some distinction in Parliament as an eloquent speaker; and as Dr. Robert Anderson, in his edition of the *British Poets*, observes, "was as remarkable for an early display, as for a flagitious prostitution, of great abilities." He died Nov. 27th, 1779; and it is stated in the obituary of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that month, (p. 567) that "his Lordship had supped, and was apparently in good health a few minutes before." But dissipation had done its work, and his sudden and premature fate might have been anticipated without warning from a ghost.]

Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "Personal Sketches," gives us some curious anecdotes of George Robert Fitzgerald. "There were few men," says he, "who flourished in my early days, that excited more general or stronger interest. He was born to an ample fortune, educated in the best society, had read much, travelled, and been distinguished at foreign courts; he was closely allied to one of the most popular, and also one of the most eminent personages of his own country; being brother-in-law to Mr. Thomas Conolly, of Castletown, and nephew to the splendid, learned, and ambitious Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry: yet so powerfully did some demon seize upon his mind, and, let us hope, disorder his intellect, that though his standing was thus brilliant, his life presented one continuous series of outrage, and his death was a death of ignominy." Sir Jonah subjoins in a note, that "a more polished and elegant gentleman was not to be met with: his person was very slight and juvenile, his countenance extremely mild and insinuating; and knowing that he had a *turn* for single combat, I always fancied him too *genteel* to kill any man except with the *small* sword."

That Major Baggs had good reason to suspect him to be *plastronné*, or to have armour concealed under his dress, may be learned from Sir Jonah's account of another duel, in which Fitzgerald was a principal. Mr. Richard Martin had been brutally insulted by him in the Dublin Theatre. A meeting was the consequence. Mr. Martin, as quoted by

Sir Jonah, says. "I advanced until our pistols touched, we both fired; he missed me, but I hit him full in the breast, and he fell back, supporting himself by a projection of rock, and exclaimed, 'Honour, Martin, honour!'

"I said, 'if you are not disabled, I will wait as long as you choose!'

"At this moment he couched treacherously like a cat, presented, fired, and hit me; I returned the fire and hit him; he again recovered, came up, begged my pardon, asked to shake hands, and said, 'Altamont has caused all this, and now would not send you his carriage: let us both kick him!'

"Notwithstanding this rencontre, and Fitzgerald having asked pardon, he provoked a second meeting. He named the day, to which I assented. It was *reported*, but I cannot vouch for the fact, that a party was sent to intercept and murder me. Shortly after I reached Sligo, my opponent sent Sir M. Crofton to say that 'Mr. Fitzgerald did not require any further renewal of the quarrel,' and thus the affair ended. My surprise at Fitzgerald being alive and well, after having received two shots from *horse pistols* full upon him, was soon cleared up. He had *plated his body*, so as to make them completely bullet-proof. On receiving my fire, he fell from the force of the balls striking him and touching his concealed armour. My wound was in the body.

"The elegant and gentlemanly appearance of this man, as contrasted with the savage treachery

of his actions, was extremely curious, and without any parallel of which I am aware.

“ Having long had a design to put one Mr. M'Donnell, of his county, *hors de combat*, for some old grudge, he determined to seek an opportunity of doing it under the colour of Mr. M'Donnell's illegal resistance to a law process, which process Mr. T—— had (innocently) executed ; in which case the attorney would, of course, as sportsmen say, ‘ be in at the death.’ At length he found an old lawyer, who, with the aid of Mr. T——'s ejections, leases, &c. struck out a legal pretence for *shooting* Mr. M'Donnell. This man, whose name was Brecknock, and who acted for Fitzgerald as agent, adviser, attorney, &c. was hanged for his pains, as an accessory before the fact, in giving Mr. Fitzgerald a legal opinion ; and Mr. Fitzgerald himself was hanged for the murder, solely on the evidence of his own groom. Scotch Andrew, the man who really *committed* it by firing the fatal blunderbuss, there can be no doubt deserved the death he met ; but there is also no doubt he was not legally convicted : and old Judge Robinson, then accounted the best lawyer on the bench, sarcastically remarked that ‘ the murderer was murdered.’ ”—ED.]

CHAPTER IV.

Appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the Portuguese army—Arrives in the Tagus—Marquis of Pombal banished—Effects of the great earthquake at Lisbon—Curiosities—Visits Pombal—dines with the Marquis—goes to Gibraltar—visits Tangiers—lends his watch-chain with a miniature picture to the Governor—sails to Marseilles—returns to Paris—joins the Queen's *cortege* in her journey to Fontainebleau—returns to England—Admirals Keppell and Palliser—Lord Sandwich—Gives up his commission—Excursion—Anecdote—Pays his addresses to Miss Dawson—Extract from his journal—French duel—Married in Paris, 1781—Birth of his eldest son, Gawin William Hamilton—Attends the Duchess of Manchester when presented to Marie Antoinette—Visit to the convent of Le Petit St. Cyr—dines with the minister Le Comte De Virgennes—Monsieur De Limons—Anecdote.—[Additions.]

ABOUT this time I received a letter from my old friend, Lord Charles Montague, saying that the Portuguese minister, the Marquis of Pombal, being anxious to obtain English officers for the Portuguese army, had offered him the command of a regiment, with the appointment of the officers, and that he would appoint me his Lieutenant-Colonel if I was inclined to join them ; but in that case, I must lose no time in returning to England, as a war was expected between Portugal and Spain, and the regiment would most probably be sent immediately to South America. This destination was

most agreeable to my wandering turn of mind, so that in the course of a very short time, Lord Charles, Mr. Blanket, a naval officer, and I, embarked in the Lisbon packet, and arrived safe in the Tagus, in high spirits. On entering the river, we were informed that the late king had died, a complete revolution had taken place in the politics of Portugal, and that the Marquis of Pombal was sent into banishment. Our party wishing to live retired, we inquired for a French hotel in the town; we found it so dirty, that we were obliged soon to remove to one kept by an Englishman close to the town, which was resorted to by the invalids who came to Lisbon for the benefit of the climate. The arrival of three persons who did not appear in search of health, nor of the mercantile order, caused some sensation, which was increased by our inquiries, all tending to procure satisfactory information concerning the degraded minister. We found the chief outcry against the Marquis among the populace and mendicants, which was excited by the priesthood and populace, particularly the beggars. The priests hated Pombal, because he restrained their excessive power, and had seized and confiscated a large quantity of contraband goods, which the holy fathers had concealed in the convent of Maffra. The nobles who joined this party were chiefly the connexion of those families who some years before had suffered for a plot to assassinate the king. During the whole time we remained in Portugal, the middle order of men, and

those engaged in commercial or literary pursuits, when they spoke of the Marquis, always called him *Le Grand Marquis*.

The town of Lisbon presented all the effects of the earthquake, which had rendered many streets impassable for carriages, and some scarcely passable for foot passengers. The government, after the earthquake, had erected some streets in an elegant style of architecture of stone, leaving to the proprietors of the lots to build up the rear, as their taste or purse should determine; so that immediately behind a palace you might find a stable or a cobbler's stall. All public places of amusement had closed on the king's death, and the court had retired to a palace built on the banks of the Tagus. A very handsome statue of Pombal stood in the centre of a square. The greatest curiosities I observed were some large and beautiful portraits of saints in the church windows; an elephant, the largest I had ever seen, but very tame; and a stable containing sixteen zebras in beautiful order.

Contrary to the advice of his friends Lord Charles determined on visiting the Marquis in his place of banishment, Pombal, a small village near Coimbra, and for that place we hired mules and guides at Lisbon. The country had a novel appearance, from the enclosure, made by the aloes, the stems of which were from ten to twenty feet high, and full of flowers. The beds of rivers, though now nearly dry, appeared as if the currents were violent in winter. We had provided ourselves with some

eatables at Lisbon, and we preferred eating them under a tree to applying at the dirty inns, where miserable gallinas and rice were the only food they had to offer us. At night mattresses were taken out of a large chest, and spread on the floor for us to lie on, where insects of all sorts abounded. The first view we got of Coimbra, as we descended one of the hills which surrounded it, was magnificently striking; it stood in a fertile valley, surrounded by well-wooded hills, through which a large river meandered. The college and other public buildings overtopping those of the town, had so much excited our ideas as to occasion a great disappointment, when on passing the bridge we entered a town, the streets of which were as contracted and dirty as any we had passed on the road—one sumptuous street, indeed, excepted, in which were most of the public offices. On the arches of the bridges were established flour-mills, driven by the current, and belonging to the monks.

When we arrived at Pombal, we found the Marquis had arrived only a few days before, and was lodged in a private house, having no residence there. Lord Charles immediately waited on him, and received an invitation for us all to dine with him the next day. On entering his room, he made a sort of playful apology for his fare and reception. He wore an old English bath surtout and slippers. He reminded me much of Dr. Franklin, both in his good-natured remarks and his suavity of manners. Our company consisted of himself, his pri-

vate secretary, and two private friends. When we were collected at table, and about to sit down, a female of middle age, plainly dressed, came into the room, and without noticing any of us, she advanced to the Marquis, dropped on her knees, received a short blessing, and was then introduced to his guests as his daughter. Dinner, with every thing else, was in the French fashion. Lord Charles and Mr. Blankett had some private conference with the Marquis, and shortly after we took our leave. The next morning we departed for Lisbon, and arrived safe at an English hotel.

Our party now separated: Lord Charles went to Madrid; Mr. Blankett returned to England; and I accepted the invitation of the officers of the ward-room on board a frigate, commanded by Captain Murray, and going to Gibraltar, and from thence to Minorca. General Baugh was a visitor of the Captain's, with whom I had a slight acquaintance, which, moreover, rendered the tour more agreeable, as he took me with him to see all the fortifications of the rock of Gibraltar, and the mines and subterranean passages of Fort Phillippi, then in complete order. I visited Tangiers, which was only a few hours' sail from Gibraltar, and joined a party who were going there to shoot. It happened to be market day; and the market was held in a large field outside the town. The merchandise was lodged in small temporary booths in the central part of the field. It was brought on the backs of camels, which, when unloaded, were made to lie down,

and, to prevent them from straggling, the fetlock of one fore foot was fastened, by a small cord, a little above the knee of the same leg. The camels formed an outer circle. As I was never a great sportsman, I found more amusement in observing the manners of the crowd than in bagging partridge, until we assembled at the Consul's house at dinner. I had then an opportunity of seeing the Moorish Governor of the place, who called on the Consul. He was a tall, handsome, elderly man ; his manners were affable ; but he spoke no language except his own, and in that his tone was affable and polite. His dress I should call Turkish, rich without profusion. He called at the Consul's again after dinner, and took some coffee with us. In the centre part of my watch-chain I had a miniature picture set with diamonds, which attracted his attention. Having admired it some time, he desired the interpreter to ask leave to take it home that he might show it to his ladies. I immediately granted his request, and gave him watch-chain and all, which he promised to return before we sailed in the evening. My companions bantered me on the loss of the whole ; and late in the day, even the Consul, though he said the Governor was a most honourable man, began to fear some difficulty might occur in its restoration. But he kept his word most correctly, and it was restored with less damage than it would have met with amongst Europeans.

After spending a few days at Port Mahon, I hired a small boat to take me to Marseilles. In

this passage I experienced rougher weather and worse seas than in all my former voyages ; indeed I believe I never had been in such danger before, for the vessel which brought me, as I found afterwards, came there to be broken up. At Marseilles I visited the Quai des Gallerions. The galley-slaves had little shops on the brink of the docks, fronting the galleys to which they belonged, and seemed to be as happy as any persons in custody could be. I was now diverted from some other intended excursions, by the arrival of an officer who had travelled from the East Indies, by what they call the overland passage by the Red Sea to Suez, and was in great haste to reach London. He prevailed on me to join him in the purchase of a berlin, and accompany him as far as Paris. In arranging our effects in the carriage at Marseilles, I perceived that my companion put several large bundles of papers in the trunk which was to go on the front of the carriage. I advised him to put them in the *vache* ; but he would not ; so I let him have his own way, which I suspect was not without design ; for it appeared he had been recalled to make up the accounts for some post he held under the East India Company, and by the time he got to the India House, all the vouchers, &c. had been so much torn and rubbed in the trunk, as to be perfectly illegible.

I passed nearly a year at Paris. Being always fond of boating, I had brought to Paris a small Thames-wherry, which I bought from Roberts of Lambeth, from whom the Westminster boys

hired their boats. I fancied that I possessed superior dexterity in its management, and this led me to accompany the cortege that attended the Queen when she went by water to the palace of Fontainebleau. My boat was indeed taken notice of, for I saw the Queen speaking to the Duke of Lauzun, and pointing it out; but alas! when I asked him what she had said, he told me the only remark she made was: “*Que cela peut être amusement pour un Seigneur Anglois!*”

War being declared on the continent, I returned to England, and joined my regiment at South Sea Common, where it was encamped. I frequently accompanied the Duke of Manchester in his visits to his friend Admiral Keppel, while the fleet remained at Portsmouth. His appointment to the command of our fleet was extremely popular; but the ministry incurred much odium by having appointed Admiral Palliser to be second in command. He was indeed a brave sailor, but known to be attached to the court party, and a private friend of Lord Sandwich's. It was supposed (and as it afterwards appeared, not without reason) that he was sent out rather as a spy to find some fault in the conduct of Keppel, than to assist his efforts. This disunion appeared in the course of Keppel's being at Portsmouth fitting out for sea. During this time Lord Sandwich came to Portsmouth, and sent a note to the Admiral, informing him of his arrival and wish to see him. I was then with the Duke on board the Victory, and Keppel immedi-

ately gave the following answer, before all present :
“ That the Victory being under sailing orders at that time, he could not leave her, but would be happy to receive his Lordship, and had ordered his barge to attend him.” His Lordship arrived shortly after in the Admiral’s barge, and we took our leave.

I had the curiosity to visit the ward of those wounded in the action which ensued a few days after, and I acknowledge I did not feel the same regret that I had experienced on the Admiral’s declining the request the Duke of Manchester had made him, to receive me as a volunteer. On the camp breaking up at South Sea Common, the Duke of Manchester appointed me to a company ; but as I had no property in the county, I resigned my commission, and returned to my mother’s house in London, in Great Marlborough-street. Soon after this, having gone on an excursion to the north of England, the following incident occurred to me at Penrith. My purse being exhausted, I told the inkeeper my situation, and asked him whether he would give me cash for my bill on my banker in London. Upon his consenting, as I thought, I ordered a late dinner, drank a bottle of claret, &c. and slept soundly. Next morning, I drew on Messrs. Child and Co. my bankers, for £20, gave it to the waiter, desiring him to pay my bill, and order a chaise. The master of the inn came up and said, that “ when he spoke of a bill on London, he thought it was an *accepted bill*, but that

he could not think of taking *that* of a stranger. It was in vain to argue with him ; so I asked him was there any gentleman living in the town, to whom I might apply ; and he mentioned a captain, whose name I have forgotten, who kept a pack of hounds, &c. From a sportsman and a military man I thought I could not fail in my request : I wrote a note to him, and enclosed a letter of my mother's, at the same time requesting he would induce the inn-keeper to cash my draft for £20 ; but I counted without my host. The answer was, that he did not doubt that the landlord would behave properly to any gentleman who came to his house. The only article of value I had about me was a diamond brooch, which I gave the waiter to secure his master, and only requested from him enough of money to pay the posting as far as Newark, where I was known and could get cash. He brought me back the brooch, saying his master was *no judge of diamonds*. It then occurred to me that I might receive assistance from my old friend Captain Williamson, son of Sir Hedworth Williamson, of Durham, from which place we could not be far distant. I made another application to Mr. Riccards, and requested that he would send his chaise so far with me ; but his answer was, that his horses never went further than one stage. In some little time Riccards himself came into the room ; I thought he had relented ; but it was to say, that he had a share in a stage-coach which was to be at Penrith the next day, and as I said I

was known at Newark, I might go so far in it, and he did not care whether he was ever paid or not. I rose from my chair with a degree of rapidity which he did not seem to like, for he speedily ran down the stairs and I after him; he turned short into his kitchen, and I into the street. I now inquired for another inn, and was told there was one kept by a Scotchwoman and her son. Little as I hoped for assistance under such auspices, I determined to try. I told my story, and requested a chaise to Sir H. Williamson's. It was immediately granted; and while the horses were harnessing, I went to Riccards, paid my bill out of my remaining loose cash, and was in a short time on the road to Brough, which was the first stage to Durham as well as on the London road.

I was walking (alongside my postillion, who was a Scottish lad,) up a long hill, when a horseman passed us in a gallop. The boy observed that they were much afraid of me at that inn, and he reminded me, that in the hurry of making out my bill in the morning Riccards had forgotten to charge the Brough chaise and drivers, which as I did not intend going any farther, I had desired to be paid at the bar. He said he was charged with a letter to the waiter of the inn at Brough, to the same purport, and lest he should not deliver it, the person who rode by was Riccards' hostler; "but," added he, in a broad Scottish accent, pulling out a small leathern purse, "there is more than will pay them, and you shall not be stopped." My heart

smote me for the national injury which I had been guilty of; I told him I would request permission from the Brough innkeeper to send the sum back by him, and if he refused I would apply to him to pay it for me. I was disappointed by the host immediately consenting; but I had the satisfaction of declaring my gratitude to the boy for his generous conduct, so different from that of Riccards. When I arrived at Durham, I had to send a note to my friend Captain Williamson (as he resided some miles out of town), telling him briefly the cause of my journey to the north, and my present embarrassment, and requesting the loan of £20. I desired, in case my friend should not be at home, that my letter might be opened by any of the family. Sir Hedgworth opened it, and enclosed a bank-note of £25, with a polite note, saying his son was from home, or he would have been the bearer of it. I now acquitted all my engagements, and not forgetting my generous young Scotchman, set out for London.

When I mentioned my mother's family at Pinnel, I alluded to a young Irish lady, then a visitor with her. I should explain how Miss Dawson had become almost an inmate in her family. My mother had the strongest friendship for her father, Walter Dawson, Esq. of Lisanisk, near Carrickmacross. This gentleman had determined to give a London education to Sarah Anne, his only daughter, who was possessed of great personal beauty and innate elegance of manner, and at the age of thirteen he

brought her over from Ireland, and placed her at one of the most celebrated schools. During the vacations she resided with my mother, who thus became extremely attached to her ; and when at the age of sixteen she left school, and had not yet returned to her parents, my sister's absence made her affection and society more than ever necessary to my mother.

[With this young lady Mr. Rowan became deeply enamoured. Future events demonstrated how judiciously he acted in making her the object of his choice as a partner for life ; and proved, as the sequel will discover, that if one error, or one false step, leads to a thousand, so may one prudent act be the means of retrieving a thousand errors. Some family affair requiring Mr. Rowan's presence in Paris, while there he kept a regular journal of all his proceedings for her perusal. As this journal has been preserved, a few extracts from it may prove not unacceptable to the reader.—Ed.]

“MY DEAR DAWSON,

“ I have set aside this quire of paper to amuse myself in giving you a little journal of events, as they happen in Paris : if it amuses you upon reading, it is more than I expect ; and yet I expect *more*, that you will take it as a mark of my recollection of the little Dawson. * * * Let me describe my lodgings :—The first floor you may suppose : an antichamber, a saloon hung with crimson damask, chairs and sofa the same, a gold border, a large marble slab upon a gold

frame, under a handsome pier glass between the windows ; another over the chimney, so well placed, I wish my Dawson were here to look at herself ; but take care, as you strut about the room to have a view of the whole shape, that you don't fall over the dirty old deal table that stands in the middle of the room ; a bed-chamber hung with blue flock-paper and gold border, blue velvet chairs, a blue damask tester, and two strips of ditto hanging down by the side of the bed, to cover some serge curtains. * * * I wanted a sword, a very handsome one presented itself, £20, I ordered it ; ' it will last for ever,' said I. When I came home I recollected that perhaps my friend might want £20 for her ornaments more than I. I wrote to the man, to tell him not to fit it up for me, for I might be forced to leave Paris in twenty-four hours. Just received his answer ; he will bring it complete to-morrow morning. I am determined not to take it ; but to-morrow will decide. My dear friend, if you are as liable to expence, and have no more resolution than your friend Hamilton, Lord have mercy upon us miserable debtors ! * * * Mrs. F. is here ruining the peace of a very worthy family by her intrigues ; her husband has been very unfortunate, as well as undeserving ; he married for love, and took into his house, and shared his purse with a man who was deserted by his family, and whose grateful return for those favours was that of raising a resentment in the wife against her husband, which led her into those errors which have destroyed her for ever. Every crime which makes our company avoided by those of our own rank, throws one necessarily into the actions and sentiments of those who are inferior to us ; so men who have lost their honour, or to speak more explicitly, have disgraced themselves by some one action of infamy, seldom stop at that, but are ready for any other ; and so the

woman who has forfeited her chastity seldom stops at that single crime. There are exceptions to both these affirmations, but too rare to be mentioned. * * *

Tuesday—I was here broken in upon by a message from F. that he would never forgive me if I did not sup with him. I had already received an invitation from the wife, which I had declined, and had undressed myself, and was writing at my ease to my little stranger (you know I always insist that we are not acquainted), when the message came, and I obeyed it. You may imagine that the lady had a right to be piqued ; but I despise her, for she never had a sentiment in her life : sentiments are dangerous things to be fraught with ; for excess of sensibility and extreme want of feeling are like the two extremes of heat and cold, equally destructive. Shenstone's description of Jessy, 'sustained by virtue, but betrayed by love,' I can conceive and pity. Many others there are besides prudes who can feel neither the one nor the other. * * *

I expect to be well with the Duc de Chartres ; he is in the Swiss guards. Apropos : there was a dreadful duel, a day or so since, between one of their colonels and a captain ; they fought upon some trifling affair ; the colonel fell down, and the captain stood over him with his sword at his throat, and asked the colonel : 'If I were in your place, what would you do to me ?' 'I would kill you dead,' said the colonel. 'I have more generosity than you,' replied the captain : 'I give you your life.' The affair was thus made up ; but there were constant disagreements : and in this country, when two officers of one regiment are constantly breaking into the happiness of the corps by their private quarrels, it is ordered by the corps, that either one dies in a duel, or leaves the regiment. So it happened here. But as the giving them each a loaded pistol, might mangle both without killing

either, they fall upon the following method : A pair of pistols is brought ; one loaded, the other left uncharged ; both put under a napkin ; the two gentlemen who are to fight are then called in, and any stranger who happens to be passing, generally a child, is brought up, who gives a pistol to each ; neither can know who has the loaded pistol ; the muzzles are put to one another's breast—the triggers drawn. The unfortunate captain was killed by his colonel. Now I shall hereafter examine you upon which you think the most to blame, and give you my reasons for the determination I have made ; but lest I should seem to wish to lay a snare for you, I think the colonel behaved nobly,* and the captain was to blame. * * * You can have no conception of the excess in which I am jealous of my friends, and at the same time the unreasonable passion I get into if my friends show the slightest suspicion of me."

" *September 6, 1781.*—I begin another quire for my friend, and I own it vexes me to write thus constantly to you, without hope of any return ; but believe me, I will make you pay for it all hereafter. I am sure, my dear, I am very different from the common race of lovers ; I threaten much before hand, but I have so much ingenuousness in my nature, that I shall never let a moment's quiet be in the house upon my return, till my Dawson has shown how little she fears me, by putting herself in my power. I have been to look at a watch with a chain for you ; I found it too big, and have ordered one of a lesser size. * * * I mean to go to the French theatre. There are the fashionable nights, and those which are otherwise : this is a bad night, but I like it better than the sing-song of the opera-house : *you* must

* Wherefore he thinks so, the editor is unable to discover.

know I don't like singing, or after all that my mother has said, I should have asked you for a song. I like to hear singing when it proceeds from absolute gaiety unrestrained; but to sing, 'O how pleasing 'tis to please,' with a frown, and a wish, perhaps, to be elsewhere, I do not love."

[The journal abounds in little incidents, and in expressions of tender endearment and affection, in a loose, gay, and epistolary style; but as such love effusions are seldom interesting to any but the parties concerned, we return to the more sober narrative.]

At my mother's earnest entreaty Miss Dawson consented to accompany her to France. I saw in her so much good sense and propriety in many different and embarrassing situations, that I determined on offering her my hand, and wrote to her father in Ireland for his permission, to which he consented, and in 1781 we were married by the Dutch ambassador's chaplain in Paris, and for the purpose of registry, we set out immediately for London, where we were married a second time in St. James's parish church, from my mother's house in Great Marlborough-street. We returned to Paris, and resided with my mother in a house which she had hired from Lord Southwell, who had married into the Choiseul family, and was settled in a small house adjoining their garden, called *Le Petit Hotel de Choiseul*, in the *Rue de Mousseau*. Here my eldest son, Gawin William, was born.

By the French laws it was necessary that he should be taken to the parish church to be christened ; it was that of St. Philippe de Roule. I wished him to be called by my father's name, which was Gawin ; but *Gawin* was not to be found in the saints' calendar of that parish, and therefore the ceremony could not be performed ; but by adding the better attested one of (my grandfather Rowan) William, I got the two names given to him.

On my return to Paris, the Duke of Manchester, my old militia colonel, being then English ambassador there, did me the honour of appointing me to attend the Duchess on her first presentation to the unfortunate Queen, Marie Antoinette, then in high glory.

My mother's affairs obliging her to return to England, we remained about a year in the same house. My sister being placed as a boarder in the convent Le Petit St. Cyr, at Versailles, my wife and I visited her there several times, and had been constantly received in the common parlour ; but one day on being announced at the gates, we were surprised at their being thrown open, and our being ushered with great ceremony to the quarters of the lady abbess, by whom we were invited to dinner. During the dessert the lady abbess said to me : " We know that the ecclesiastics in your country are permitted to marry." It then appeared that having had occasion, in the mean time, to pay my sister's pension, I had signed my order on the banker, " ARCHD. HAMILTON ROWAN," and the

Christian name of Archibald being as little known to the abbess as a saint, as Gawin was to the curate who baptized my son, she had supposed me to be an archbishop, and received me with every mark of liberal feeling, and with a degree of civility (due to my supposed character); a civility, I fancy, well worthy of imitation elsewhere.

During my visits to Versailles, I was one day invited to dine with the minister, the Comte de Vergennes. All the domestics of a *Milord* affected an English dress, and particularly by wearing their hair tied in a club instead of a bag. It was, however, an etiquette that all persons who were invited to the minister's table should be waited on by their own servants, who must also wear bags. My servant not having one, borrowed the coachman's to attend at dinner. When the party broke up, my carriage was called for, but in vain; and I was forced to go to the court-yard to get into it, for it was equally inconsistent with the dignity of the coachman to drive up to the entrance without a bag, as it was for the other to attend at table without one.

[Mr. Rowan resided in France about two years after his marriage, in the full enjoyment of as much happiness as falls to the lot of the most favoured of mortals. During this time few incidents in his history occur worthy of notice. In May, 1783, he had occasion to visit Angers, from which place he writes to Mrs. Rowan, and gives the following anecdote :—]

“ Last night we arrived at his (Monsieur De Limon's) brother's, Du Plessis, who is lodged in the Hotel de Ville : good old rooms, and winding staircase ; nothing elegant, and nothing mean ; a man of about thirty, without pretensions, very hospitable ; his father shewed me the public hall just now ; he was formerly mayor, and M. De L. during his mayoralty, sent down the picture of Monsieur, as a present to the town from Monsieur, which is exactly the same as that in his own room. The old man made me observe that above the picture were the arms of Monsieur, on one side the arms of the city, on the other his ; ‘ that is,’ said he, ‘ I never had any arms before ; it was necessary to have some. I was intendant of the marine ; so I took a tree and two anchors, as you see.’ I then inquired why, amidst a great number of arms and names which were painted up against the pannels, of the old mayors and sheriffs of the town, there were several which had been erased. He said, that ‘ they were the names of persons who now passed for nobility, and were ashamed of what they had sprung from, and had got them erased.’ And this may hereafter be the case in some hundreds of years with the name as well as the anchors and tree of the good old man who was then speaking.”

[The Marquis de Pombal, mentioned in the memoir, was a statesman of distinguished eminence, born at Soura, in the territory of Coimbra, in 1699, and appointed ambassador from the court of Portugal to London, 1739. In 1750 he became secretary of state for foreign affairs. “ His first care was to improve the commercial resources of the

kingdom, and encourage a spirit of industry among the people; but he also seems to have systematically endeavoured to depress the nobility, and he displayed a marked enmity to the influential order of the Jesuits, whence arose a spirit of opposition to his measures which led to many public disasters. On the occasion of the dreadful earthquake at Lisbon in 1755, he displayed the most active benevolence towards the distressed citizens. His services procured him deserved respect, and the king rewarded him with the title of Count d'Oeyras. In the following year he was made prime minister of the country, and he now assumed a most unlimited power in every department of the state. Many of his measures were arbitrary and severe: but the licentiousness of the age, and the character of the people, served to excuse if not to justify his proceedings. The attempt to assassinate the king, for which the Duke of Aveiro and others of the nobility suffered in 1758, was ascribed by the minister to the instigations of the Jesuits, and it afforded him a pretext for the banishment of those fathers from Portugal. He persevered in the system which he adopted, notwithstanding he was continually adding to the number of his enemies, till at length, in 1777, he was disgraced, and ordered to retire to his estates; and he died at Pombal, the place of his exile, May 8, 1782."—GORTON'S *Biographical Dictionary*.

The action to which the memoir alludes, page 79, took place between the British fleet, under Admiral

Keppel, and the French fleet, under Comte d'Orvilliers, on the 27th of July, 1778. The Admiral's ship, the *Victory*, was first in the conflict ; and though it does not appear that she sustained a great loss of men, she suffered severely in her rigging, and the shattered condition in which she returned to port, must have excited very different feelings from those which animated her crew when she went forth in the pride of anticipated triumph. Mr. Rowan, on seeing the ward of the wounded, had, no doubt, good reason to cease his regret at not having been admitted as a volunteer, though it is equally doubtless that he would have covered himself with all the glory that could have been won in that capacity. Owing to the want of a proper system of signals, the manœuvres of the British fleet were not so well conducted as on subsequent occasions, nor was the result of the engagement such as the officers and men of the British navy are accustomed to expect. An unhappy jealousy or misunderstanding subsisted between the Admirals Keppel and Palliser ; accusations were the consequence, and finally a court martial, by which Admiral Keppel was honourably acquitted.

Mr. Rowan, during his residence in France, having gone on a shooting excursion, met with many French and English strangers at a country house or chateau, and among them one with whom he had high words, which led to a conflict that might have been attended with fatal consequences. They had dressed for dinner, wearing swords, as

was the fashion, and met in the saloon where the dispute originated—probably, as usual, about some trifle—the “dissension of a doit”—“some trick not worth an egg.” Ladies being present, Rowan

“Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel,”

went out with the French gentleman on a balcony platform, where both drew, and instantly proceeded to decide their controversy by the sword. Rowan’s powerful arm, with his superior skill in fencing, gave him a manifest advantage. His antagonist grew warm, and at every thrust or parry, cried out, “*Sacré !*” with another very offensive epithet, which so enraged Rowan that he closed with him, and *à l’Anglois*, gave him a terrible blow of his fist, which nearly knocked him down. In the scuffle the Frenchman lost his sword, then took to flight, and actually got on the parapet, which was barely two feet wide, and twenty above the ground. Rowan pursued him on the same dangerous eminence, like Achilles after Hector, but not with the same deadly animosity ; for though he might have taken summary vengeance, he contented himself with giving him a few strokes with the blade of his sword on the head and shoulders, but doing him no serious injury. The spectators were in terror lest one or both should fall from the narrow parapet, till at last the terrified Frenchman dropped down, and probably thought himself fortunate in escaping, though at the expence of a fractured limb.—ED.]

CHAPTER V.

Comes to Ireland—purchases Rathcoffey—Story of Mary Neal—Takes an active part in the prosecution of her enemies—publishes a pamphlet in her behalf—Lord Carhampton—Doctor Boyton—Petition to the Lord Lieutenant—Letter to the Right Hon. Alleyne Fitzwilliam—Anecdote by Sir Jonah Barrington—Lines on the Castle gate—Trial of Sheriff Vance—Mr. Rowan assists in conducting the prosecution—Bull-baiting—Vance acquitted—Rowan's opinions on the subject—Eulogy on the judge, the Honourable Richard Power.

WHEN the time for which my mother had taken her house in the Rue de Mousseau expired, I took one at Epinay, near St. Denis, where we remained about a year ; and in 1784, in compliance with my mother's request, came to reside in Ireland. She gave up to me a small property in the county of Kildare, which she inherited from her father, and we took a cottage near Naas, where we resided when not with my mother in Dublin.

After a short time, however, as my wife and I became attached to many valuable friends in the county of Kildare, and besides liked the country, I purchased Rathcoffey, the cottage having become too small for our increasing family. We nevertheless spent a great deal of our time with my mother in Dublin. And there a transaction occurred, in

which I took a prominent and decided part, in support of a young girl the daughter of a hair-dresser. This case, which first brought my name before the public, was as follows :—Mary Neal, aged about fourteen years, under the pretence of being sent on a message, was decoyed into a house of ill fame, where she had been violated, and then turned out into the street. The house was kept by Mrs. Llewellyn, the foster-sister of a gentleman then in favour at the castle. Against her, as mistress of the house, the father of the girl lodged examinations, and procured a warrant, while his daughter was taken to the hospital of the House of Industry, on account of the personal injury she had received. When the sessions were coming on, in order to prevent the prosecution of Llewellyn, a person named Edgeworth, a friend of Mrs. Llewellyn, induced a girl who frequented the house, to swear that Neal, his wife, and daughter had stopped her on the road and robbed her, and she thus got warrants against them. She had interest enough with the jailor to procure a constable, who in the middle of the night took Neal and his wife to Newgate, where they were shut up in separate cells. The woman was far gone with child, and in the morning, on opening the cell, she and an infant of whom she had been delivered were found dead ; some say from ill usage received from Llewellyn when she was taken to prison ; but the coroner's inquest declared that their death was occasioned by a want of medical assistance. The trial of the girl's father for the

alleged robbery came on, but no prosecutors appeared. The girl had remained in the hospital, where by the firmness of Mr. Hunt, the surgeon of the establishment, she was protected from the examinations and interrogatories of some persons of high rank, which did them no credit, in order to intimidate her and make her acknowledge that she was one of those depraved young creatures who infest the streets, and thus to defend Llewellyn on her trial. When it came on, however, she was convicted and received sentence of death. Shortly after this, having discovered that Anne Molyneux, the person who had been procured to lodge examinations in another name against the family for the robbery, was a frequenter of Llewellyn's house, with the prompt assistance of Dr. Boyton and Alderman ———, I had Edgeworth taken up, prosecuted, convicted of subornation of perjury, and sentenced to stand three times in the pillory and to be imprisoned one year. Both of these culprits were shortly after pardoned and liberated by Lord Westmoreland.

[An affair of this nature was well adapted to produce excitement in the public mind ; and the more so as a person "in favour at the castle," Lord Carhampton, lay under strong suspicion of being a principal concerned, and of using his influence to frustrate the demands of justice. Several pamphlets were written on the occasion, professing to give a true statement of the facts. One of these was en-

titled, "A Brief Investigation of the Sufferings of John, Anne, and Mary Neal, by A. H. Rowan;" another by a writer under a feigned appellation, entitled, "The cries of Blood and injured Innocence, or the Protection of Vice and Persecution of Virtue, exemplified in the Sufferings of Mary Neal and *her unfortunate* family, &c." It was addressed to his Excellency the Marquis of B——, and contained in the title-page the following lines to the —— of C——

"If in thy breast which vice so deeply stains,
One lingering thought not tainted quite remains!
If years of guilt have not of shame bereft,
And one faint blush for all thy crimes is left,
The lash of honest scorn, unmoved by fear,
Shall rouse that shame, and bid that blush appear!"

In this pamphlet Rowan is eulogized as "the zealous defender of insulted humanity, the generous protector of injured, insulted innocence." Soon after appeared, "An Authentic Narrative, being an Investigation of the Trial and Proceedings in the Case of Neal and Llewellyn, containing a variety of proofs and circumstances never before made public." This "Authentic Narrative" endeavours to invalidate the evidence of Mary Neal, and to justify the conduct of Lord Carhampton, by shewing that it was by mere accident he was led to take any part in the proceedings. It quoted Dr. Boyton as authority for some of its statements, and the Doctor replied in a pamphlet entitled, "Plain Truth, or a Candid Detail of the Proceedings in the business

of Neal and Llewellyn, in answer to the misrepresentations of a recent publication, called an ‘Authentic Narrative, &c.’” In this he “assures the public, that the evidence given by Mary Neal on the trial of Llewellyn was not, as is asserted, either contradictory or inconsistent, but such as perfectly to satisfy twelve honest men on their oaths, and to leave no doubt of her innocence on the mind of an upright judge.”

Mr. Rowan having heard that a pardon was solicited and about to be obtained for Llewellyn, founded on the destruction of Mary Neal’s character, he resolved to defend it as far as possible against this injury. Accordingly he took her to the castle on Saturday, November 29th, when she presented a petition to the Lord Lieutenant, praying that, as she understood the claim to mercy to Llewellyn was founded on the principle of her (Neal) being soiled with guilt which her soul abhorred, such a communication of the evidence might be made, as she may defend herself against; or in the extension of mercy to Llewellyn, to save her (Neal’s) infant virtue by a declaration of her innocence.” With this petition his Excellency did not think proper to comply. In a letter to the Right Hon. Alleyne Fitzwilliam, Rowan disclaims having any enmity to the unfortunate culprit; “but,” says he, “as long as the guilt of the child is made the basis of royal clemency, I will combat it with all the force of truth which I can collect. I am neither impertinent nor ignorant enough—some

might add, cruel enough—to attempt to avert mercy ; but as long as I have breath, I will protect her whom I believe innocent, and who has no other support.”

In connexion with this part of Rowan’s history, Sir Jonah Barrington, in his “*Personal Sketches*,” gives a strikingly characteristic anecdote, adorned, however, with the well-known hyperbolical exaggerations of that amusing author’s style. The reader, therefore, will make due allowance for these, and not impute the rudeness of a bully to a gentleman like Mr. Rowan, distinguished as he was by the singular courtesy and urbanity of his manners.

“ There are few,” says Sir Jonah, “ who will not give him full credit for every quality which does honour to ‘ the private character of a gentleman.’ As a philanthropist he certainly carried his ideas even beyond reason, and to a degree of excess which I really think laid in his mind the foundation of all his enthusiastic proceedings, both in common life and in politics.

“ The first interview I had with this gentleman did not occupy more than a few minutes ; but it was of a most impressive nature, and though now eight and thirty years back, appears as fresh to my eye as if it took place yesterday : in truth, I believe it must be equally present to every individual of the company who survives, and is not too old to remember any thing.”

After a brief notice of the story of Mary Neal, and Rowan’s Quixotic exertions in her behalf, Barrington proceeds to state that

“ There were not wanting persons who doubted her truth, decried her former character, and represented her story as that of an impostor. This not only hurt the feelings and the philanthropy, but the pride of Hamilton Rowan ; and he vowed personal vengeance against all her calumniators high and low. At this time about twenty young barristers, including myself, had formed a dinner-club in Dublin ; we had taken large apartments for the purpose ; and as we were not yet troubled with *too much* business, we were in the habit of faring luxuriously every day, and taking a bottle of the best claret which could be obtained. There never existed a more cheerful, nor half so cheap a dinner-club. One day, whilst dining with our usual hilarity, the servant informed us that a gentleman below stairs desired to be admitted *for a moment*. We considered it to be some brother barrister who requested permission to join our party, and desired him to be shown up. What was our surprise, however, on perceiving the figure that presented itself ! A man who might serve as model for a Hercules ; his gigantic limbs conveying the idea of almost supernatural strength ; his shoulders, arms, and broad chest were the very emblems of muscular energy ; and his flat, rough countenance, overshadowed by enormous dark eyebrows, and deeply furrowed by strong lines of vigour and fortitude, completed one of the finest, yet most formidable figures I had ever beheld. He was very well dressed. Close by his side stalked in a Newfoundland dog of corresponding magnitude, with hair a foot long, and who, if he should be voraciously inclined, seemed well able to devour a barrister or two without overcharging his stomach : as he entered, indeed, he alternately looked at us and then up at his master, as if only awaiting the orders of the latter to commence the

onslaught. His master held in his hand a large, yellow, knotted clubby, slung by a leathern thong round his great wrist ; he had also a long small-sword by his side. This apparition walked deliberately up to the table, and having made his obeisance with seeming courtesy—a short pause ensued, during which he looked round on all the company with an aspect 'if not stern, yet ill calculated to set our minds at ease either as to his or his dog's ulterior intentions. 'Gentlemen !' at length he said, in a tone and with an air at once so mild and courteous, nay so polished, as fairly to give the lie, as it were, to his gigantic and threatening figure ; 'Gentlemen ! I have heard with very great regret that some members of this club have been so indiscreet as to calumniate the character of Mary Neal, which, from the part I have taken, I feel identified with my own. If any one present hath done so, I doubt not he will now have the candour and courage to avow it. *Who* avows it ?' The dog looked up at him again ; he returned the glance ; but contented himself for the present with patting the animal's head, and was silent ; so were we.

"The extreme surprise, indeed, with which our party was seized, bordering almost on consternation, rendered all consultation as to a reply out of the question ; and never did I see the old axiom, that 'what is every body's business is nobody's business,' more thoroughly exemplified. A few of the company whispered each his neighbour, and I perceived one or two steal a fruit-knife under the table-cloth, in case of extremities ; but no one made reply. We were eighteen in number ; and as neither would or could answer for the others, it would require eighteen replies to satisfy the giant's single query, and I fancy some of us *could not* have replied to his satisfaction, and stuck to the truth into the bargain.

“ He repeated his demand (elevating his tone each time) thrice : ‘ Does any gentleman avow it ? ’ A faint buzz now circulated round the room, but there was no *answer* whatsoever. Communication was cut off, and there was a dead silence. At length our visitor said, with a loud voice, that he must suppose, if any gentleman had made any observations or assertions against Mary Neal’s character, he would have had the *courage* and spirit to avow it : ‘ therefore,’ continued he, ‘ I shall take it for granted that my information was erroneous ; and in that point of view I regret having *alarmed* your society.’ And without another word he bowed three times very low and retired backward toward the door (*his dog also backing out with equal politeness*), where with a salaam doubly ceremonious Mr. Rowan ended this extraordinary interview. On the first of his departing bows, by a simultaneous impulse we all rose and returned his salute, almost touching the table with our noses, but still in profound silence ; which *booing* on both sides was repeated, as I have said, till he was fairly out of the room. Three or four of the company then ran hastily to the window to be *sure* that he and the dog were clear off into the street ; and no sooner had this satisfactory *denouement* been ascertained, than a general roar of laughter ensued, and we talked it over in a hundred different ways ; the whole of our arguments, however, turned upon the question ‘ which had behaved the *politest* upon the occasion ; ’ but not one word was uttered as to ‘ which had behaved the *stoutest*.”

The following passage occurs in one of Mr. Rowan’s letters to Mrs. Rowan at this period :—
“ A Mr. Simcocks, a great paragraphist and essay

writer during Lord Townsend's administration, dined here the day after I came to town, and from him I got the following, which I think is neat :

“ ‘ THE PETITION OF THE STATUE OF JUSTICE ON THE
CASTLE GATE.

‘ Since justice is now but a pageant of state,
Remove me, I pray you, from this castle gate.
Since the rape of an infant, and blackest of crimes,
Are objects of mercy in these blessed times,
On the front of new prison, or hell let me dwell in,
For a pardon is granted to Madam Llewellyn.’ ”

Mr. Rowan had now become a popular character, and was regarded as the friend and advocate of the people. His courage, his philanthropy, and his generous, disinterested zeal in defence of injured innocence, were topics of universal praise and admiration.* After the affair of Mary Neal a new occasion presented itself for evincing what interest he took in protecting the rights of the people, and his hostility to every act which he considered arbitrary or oppressive.

On the 27th of December, 1789, being Saint Stephen's day, a day devoted by the lower classes to relaxation and amusement, some of the tradesmen had purchased a bull, and brought him into a field, in the vicinity of the city, which was enclosed

* Mary Neal was received as a domestic in the house of Mrs. Rowan, most kindly treated, and at last apprenticed to a dress-maker ; but her subsequent character and conduct were not such as could requite the care of her benefactors, or justify the interest she had excited in the public mind.

with a very high stone wall, and a gate which was kept shut. Some humane persons, who considered bull-baiting as a cruel amusement, went to the sheriff, and required him to call out a military guard to put a stop to the proceeding. Vance, the sheriff, complied. His interference produced a riot : oyster-shells and pebbles were thrown by the mob ; the soldiers retaliated by firing on the people : many were wounded ; four were killed. One of the latter was Ferral Reddy, for whose murder the sheriff Vance was arraigned. The friends and relatives of the sufferers being in an humble condition, and unable from their own resources to carry on the prosecution, published an advertisement, requesting "the assistance of those persons who think the death of a fellow-citizen ought to be inquired into." Letters were directed to Mr. Rowan, then at his mansion in Rathcoffey, requesting him to assist at a meeting in St. Mary's parish, for the purpose of pursuing the inquiry. At first he declined, "lest his attendance should be construed into a vain attempt at popularity, particularly as his name had already been obtruded perhaps too often on the public." Some time after, however, having returned to town, he was again solicited to undertake the conduct of the investigation, which there was every reason to suppose would be supported by an ample subscription. On this he expressed himself well pleased, and set down his name for ten guineas. The subscription altogether amounted to £49 15s. ; the bill of costs to

£117 5s. 3d.; and further expences raised the amount to £130. This was an expensive business to Mr. Rowan, as he had to make up the deficiency. But he became strongly interested in the subject; and we may guess the intensity of his feelings from the following extract of a letter to Mrs. Rowan:—"I got down at Ellis's about twelve, and from that time until five I was tracing every step of the military on the fatal day; and the more inquiry I make, the more I am confirmed in the opinion of its being a most diabolical exercise of power. I saw the father and mother of one of the sufferers, whose story is itself a tragedy."

The whole affair was fully investigated in the court of king's bench, before the Hon. Richard Power, second baron of the court of exchequer. The Solicitor-General endeavoured to show that no trespass had been committed, and to extenuate the cruelty of bull-baiting. "Be it savage or be it not," said he, "or be it such as no man would encourage in these modern times of effeminacy; be it what it may, it has grown up with the common law of England as an innocent amusement. There are many other amusements that might appear equally savage to the refined manners of modern times; there are manly sports calculated to encourage British freedom, and exercises that promote bodily health and vigour; and I may say with truth there is no country in Europe, where the lower orders of the people are allowed so little amusement as in this kingdom. As to the bull-

baiting, independent of the trespass, I could produce several instances of corporations holding their charter by having public bull-baits: Chester does so; the Isle of Wight and Naas hold their charters by it. However, the question comes simply to this: Was there any trespass complained of? There was not. The parties were considered as committing an illegal act, merely because they were baiting a bull, which was no offence at all; it was an act which is both lawful and innocent." The Court in summing up the evidence, admitted that bull-baiting is, under certain circumstances, legal; but condemned it as cruel. "The practice of throwing at cocks on Shrove Tuesday," said the learned judge, "had prevailed time out of mind. It came at last before the late judge Foster; he condemned it as inhuman, barbarous, and far from a manly exercise. If throwing at cocks was condemned, surely bull-baiting should be so too. It is a most barbarous custom, and I am resolved, as long as ever I have the honour of sitting on the bench, to discountenance it." He then stated the law and the evidence of the case; and the jury having withdrawn, returned in about five minutes with a verdict: "Not guilty."

As Mr. Rowan took up the cause of the prosecution, it may readily be supposed that he concurred in the sentiments expressed by the Solicitor-General. In a paper prefixed as an "Introduction to the published report of the trial," he comments on the opinion of the counsel of the crown as supported by

the charge from the bench, "that an apparent absolute necessity must be proved, before the killing any person became justifiable. Men in all times have differed in their ideas of that apparent absolute necessity, which may excuse the taking the life of a fellow-creature who is in their power. The soldiers, when St. Paul was shipwrecked on Melita, would have put him to death lest he should escape ; but the centurion, more humane, saw not the same necessity. One general has cut the waistbands of the breeches of his prisoners, to prevent their escape ; another has cut their throats. The law of England has been declared concerning the time of that apparent necessity, in the following unequivocal terms : ' The law permits you not to kill him that assails you when you draw near your last refuge, because you foresee that you shall be driven to it, but you must forbear till that necessity be at the full period ; for till then it may be otherwise prevented or remedied.' "* Whether any such necessity existed on the present occasion, he leaves the reader to determine ; adding, " The jury declared their opinion by a general verdict of acquittal. It is a glorious privilege of every British subject, to look his twelve judges in the face, and that they should be forced to look upon the prisoner, while they pledge themselves to the Almighty to do him justice. May every criminal cause be thus tried ! for those which are otherwise judged derogate from

* HOBART'S *Reports*, p. 159.

the glory of the constitution." He describes what a bull-bait is, and pleads in justification of the practice the countenance given to it by the doctors of law and divinity at Cambridge. "The learned judge," says he, "allowed the possibility of an innocent bull-bait; but he likened it to that barbarous, that cowardly practice of throwing at cocks upon Shrove Tuesday, an inhuman, an unmanly sport. At Cambridge there were constant bull-baitings, under the very eye of the vice-chancellor and all the doctors of law and divinity; and Paris, that seat of elegance, had her *combats du taureau avec de dogues Anglois*—bull-baitings, which were attended by the first nobility of that kingdom."

From the whole tenor of Mr. Rowan's observations it is plain than he thought Vance had no justifiable necessity to plead; "but," says he, "he has been acquitted by his country, and bold would be that man who dared to call him guilty. The just proportion between crimes and punishments is so ill regulated, that where some sort of adequate equalization does not take place between them, the law becomes impotent and inactive; and because a man may not merit the most rigorous punishment which the law can inflict, he, on this account, is free and spotless, in the eye of the law, from all offence in the descending scale of criminality. Law has not settled the proper gradation of crimes: public opinion and private reflection supply this notorious insufficiency. If then this man has any

consciousness of official ignorance or incapacity, posterior to the voluntary assumption of a magistracy which made him guardian of the city and the citizens ; if he be conscious of any *indiscreet* use of discretionary power, or any precipitate and passionate transgression of the bounds marked out by just necessity ; what shall he look to ? Let him look to the aged father lamenting the loss of his son, the comfort and support of his years ; let him look to those who mourn in silence the premature death of their relations. Of small moment may the loss of a few lives in the streets of this crowded metropolis appear to the man and the magistrate ; but to some this loss is measureless and irreparable.”—He concludes by a well merited compliment to the “worthy judge who presided at the trial, whose clear, concise, and constitutional charge to the jury must create respect and honor ; whilst the benevolent manner in which he expressed himself concerning the innocent amusements of the people, and their right to indulgence in them, excited the love and esteem of his audience.”

“ ARCH. H. ROWAN.”

“ *Rathcoffey, March 9, 1790.*”

Happily since the trial of Vance there has been a considerable improvement in the state of public feeling, as to the barbarous practice of bull-baiting and its kindred “sports”—sports which, to the disgrace of humanity, were too long tolerated, but are

now nearly, if not altogether extinct. It was more from a desire to vindicate what he thought the rights of the people, than to justify a cruel custom, that Mr. Rowan entered into the opinion of the solicitor-general, that as it had grown up with the common law of England, it was an innocent amusement. He had seen it countenanced by the highest authorities in the university of Cambridge, and may have been taught, with some British statesmen, to consider it as necessary to foster the martial spirit of the British nation; a fallacy which few, if any, in the present day, will have the folly or the hardihood to defend.*

The solicitor-general said truly, that in no country in Europe are the lower orders of the people allowed so little amusement as in Ireland; and hence their too frequent recourse to illicit indulgence, and the factious broils in which, from time immemorial, they have been engaged, under leaders of the family of "Captain Rock." But we may confidently hope and trust that as the great work of national education, now in progress, advances, their condition in all respects will be ameliorated; that they will find some rational recreation for their leisure moments in mechanic institutions, and reading societies, as well as in gymnastic

* The reader is referred to the second section of the ninth chapter of the Editor's work on "The Rights of Animals," MARDON, *London*, for some considerations on this subject.

exercises, and rise to that due degree of civilization and refinement, to which the native vigor of their genius, if properly fostered and wisely directed, will assuredly conduct them.—ED.]

CHAPTER VI.

Rise and Progress of the Irish Volunteers—Ireland's Rights—Molyneux—Grattan—Dungannon Meeting—Grand National Convention—Mr. Rowan joins his Father's Company of Volunteers as a private—Rumours of French Invasion—Intended Address to Lord Charlemont—Attends a Review in Belfast—Correspondence—Dr. Drennan—Proceedings in the County of Down—Mr. Evans—Electioneering ballads—National Convention—Mr. Flood—Extract from the Life of Arthur O'Leary—Lord Kenmare—Two letters from Dr. John Jebb—Major Cartwright—[Additions.]

[BEFORE we return to the "Memoir," it may be interesting to take a review of the rise of the Volunteer Association, and the state of public feeling in Ireland at that memorable time.

In 1760, a squadron of French vessels, under a gallant commander, M. Thurot, unfurled the flag of France in the bay of Carrickfergus. They landed their forces within a few miles of the town, and after a smart action with the troops of the garrison, in which many lives were lost, obtained possession both of the town and fortress. On this occasion the inhabitants of the surrounding country, for many miles, evinced such a martial spirit of resistance, as demonstrated that no invader should tread their soil with impunity. But during the American war, when Great Britain had to contend with

the fleets of France and Spain, as well as with her revolted colonies, apprehending that they might have a similar visit from an active and enterprising enemy, the natives of Belfast solicited government to station a body of troops in their town, that they might be prepared for any such emergency. Government replied: "They could afford only half a troop of horse and half a company of invalids." Hardy, in his *Life of Charlemont*, justly observes that "this reply was a sufficient justification of the people's arming to defend themselves." Accordingly the people, acting by a simultaneous impulse, enrolled themselves under leaders of their own choice. The spirit of military ardour was roused, and almost every parish in Ulster could soon boast of its volunteer corps, self-embodied, self-armed, accoutred, and disciplined. The towns strove in generous rivalry with the cities, and the villages and rural districts with the towns, in the number, discipline, and military array of their several companies. Landlord and tenant, noble and peasant, felt the mighty impulse alike. The roll of the drum and the sound of the fife were heard in the remote glens and vallies; and Ireland soon exhibited an armed force which, had she been destined to see her shores trodden by invading armies, would have driven them back with confusion and defeat. Ireland for once was a united country, and never since she "rose from the dark-swelling flood," did she enjoy such a season of happy excitement, or make such rapid advances in the march of civili-

zation and improvement. The voice of liberty was heard echoing across the Atlantic ; it awoke a kindred spirit in the breast of the Irish nation, and from having risen in arms to defend her shores, she grasped them more firmly to assert her rights : she felt her power, and determined to be free.

Long prior to this, the question of Ireland's right to be governed by her own laws had been discussed and supported. Soon after the revolution, Molyneux, a scholar, a philosopher, and the friend of Locke, had ably asserted and maintained her right. John Hely Hutchinson followed in the same path, and claimed independence for the Irish parliament. In 1780, Grattan made a motion that "no power on earth, save the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for Ireland." In a speech for a "declaration of rights," he shewed with what unprecedented rapidity Ireland had sprung from weakness to strength—"he was not very old," he said, "and yet he remembered Ireland a child. He had watched her growth: from infancy she grew to arms—from arms to liberty. She was not now afraid of the French: she was not now afraid of the English: she was not now afraid of herself. Her sons were no longer an arbitrary gentry, a ruined commonalty, Protestants oppressing Catholics—Catholics groaning under oppression ; but she was a united land."*

* Mr. Curran, in a note to the life of his father (page 150, vol. 1.) says he heard "that the plan of the Volunteer Asso-

In February, 1782, the delegates from 143 corps of the province of Ulster, met at Dungannon, and passed a series of resolutions expressive of their patriotic determinations. These or similar resolutions were adopted throughout the kingdom; and in October, 1783, delegates from all the corps of the province of Leinster assembled at the Royal Exchange, in Dublin, where the necessity of a reform in parliament, and of the admission of the Roman Catholics to the elective franchise, were discussed and advocated.

On the 10th of November following, a grand national convention of volunteer delegates from every county in Ireland met at the Royal Ex-

ciations emanated from the "Monks of the Screw." The chief object of that society was to prepare the public mind, by means of the press, for a continual resistance to the usurpation of the English parliament. A few members of bolder views frequently discussed the practicability of arming Ireland. One of these was Lord Carhampton, who, on hearing of the answer of government to the requisition from Belfast, exclaimed to Dr. Jebb (of Dublin), 'Now is our time.' Dr. Jebb replied, 'that the country was ripe for the proposal; and that if supplied with a small sum to defray the incidental expences, he would undertake to ensure its success.' He named £40, and that sum was handed to him from the funds of the society. He was asked no questions, and he never mentioned himself in what particular manner he had employed it. In a few days after, Belfast and other towns both in the north and south of Ireland declared themselves. Doctor Jebb had established a political correspondence with all the considerable places in the kingdom; and his friends, who had been present at the preceding conversation, attributed the rapid and simultaneous formation of volunteer corps in distant districts, to the impulse given by him through agents or written communications,"—*Collectanea Politica*, p. 221.

change, and proceeded thence to the Rotunda, for the purpose of discussing the great political questions which now occupied and agitated the land. Many men of the first distinction for wisdom, virtue, and eloquence, as well as for rank and power, took an active part in those discussions, and by their strong arguments and splendid declamations, kindled the growing fire into a blaze, that at last mounted and spread into a general conflagration.*

That a man of Mr. Rowan's temperament, love of popularity, patriotic feeling, and acquaintance with military life, should remain unaffected and quiescent amid such stirring scenes, was not to be imagined. He had already become a favourite with the people—their leaders courted his society, proud to avail themselves of the influence derived from his station in life, his public spirit, and private fortune, of which last he was liberal even to prodigality. At first, however, he joined his father's company of volunteers in Killileagh, as a private, and in that capacity was not less distinguished (as he who writes has heard from one who saw and knew it well) by his manly stature and dexterous use of arms in the field, than by the courtesy and elegance of his manners in the social circle.

As various rumours had been spread of an invasion of Ireland by her foreign enemies, in order to

* The case of America had just shewn how a struggle for principle might terminate—"British supremacy there had fallen like a spent thunderbolt."—GRATTAN'S *Speech*, 1781, from *Curran's Life*, p. 154,

accustom the volunteers to great military movements, reviews were held of their numerous battalions, in all the "pomp, pride, and circumstance of glorious war." Those held on the plains near Belfast in 1781 and 1782 were strikingly brilliant. A report having been propagated that the enemy intended to effect a landing somewhere on the coast of Cork, a northern army of 15,000 volunteers was preparing to join the standing army in case of such an attempt. Happily their services in actual warfare were not required.]

I now (says the memoir) accompanied my father to the North, where I appeared at the last review of the volunteers as a private in my father's company; and I was then appointed by the line to present an address (which I had drawn up) to Lord Charlemont, from a body of armed citizens resolved to continue that association. His lordship declined receiving it, but said we should shortly meet in our civil capacity, and pass an address to parliament, for a reform of abuses. I replied, "that citizens with Brown Bess on their shoulders were, I thought, more likely to be attended to."

[The review which he attended took place in the plain of the Falls near Belfast, on the 12th and 13th days of July, 1784. On this occasion an address was presented by the volunteers assembled in Belfast, to "General Earl of Charlemont," expressive of respect and veneration for his character, and of "satisfaction at the decay of those prejudices which have so long involved us in feud and

disunion—a disunion which, by limiting the rights of suffrage, and circumscribing the number of Irish citizens, has, in a high degree, tended to create and foster that aristocratic tyranny which is the foundation of every Irish grievance, and against which the public now unanimously exclaim.” To this address his lordship courteously replied; at the same time declaring that his decision, as to the elective suffrage of the Roman Catholics, essentially differed from theirs—a decision which he did not entirely abandon till a short time previous to his death.*

On the 25th of October, 1784, an assembly of delegates was summoned to meet in Dublin in a NATIONAL CONGRESS, for the purpose of promoting reform; and in the ensuing January a meeting was held in the county of Down to elect delegates, at which Mr. Rowan attended, as appears from the following letters :—

“ Newry, Tuesday, 12 January, 1785.

“ Here I am, just arrived in a chaise from Dundalk; and here I find my father’s servants and horses have been waiting for me since Sunday morning, and that he put off going to the Down hunt on account of my expected arrival. I also find here a note from Dr. Drennan, desiring to know when I arrive, as he has letters to deliver to me. I wrote to him, and am waiting for his answer. If I should see him this evening, I shall dine at Killi-

* History of Belfast, pp. 307, 309.

leagh to-morrow, but I fear I shall not see him till then. They elected delegates at Dundalk, for Louth. Had I been sooner I should have just looked in upon them, to see the mode of * * * . Dr. Drennan's answer just come—he says he will do himself the honour of sitting half an hour with me, at eight o'clock, and when my examination is over I will take up the pen again, to let you know how I think I have answered. The doctor is a young man, and I acquitted myself '*a merveille, selon mon idée.*' I find by Bruce's letters to him, that he supposed I was come down here to raise an interest for future elections. He gave me two letters from Mr. Bruce, one for Mr. Crawford of Crawford's Burn; the other for Mr. Sharman. To-morrow I shall see the castle, and am now sitting down to drink your health, and success to myself in the county of Down.

" *To Mrs. H. Rowan.*"

" *Saturday, 15th January, 1785.*

" I will now shew you my independent spirit as delegate for the county of Down. Mr. Isaac, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Kerr, and my father, were first named; the Rev. Mat. Forde was then proposed, and refused the delegation: in his place I was named. There were four resolutions, chiefly extracted from the late resolutions of the national convention: all passed unanimously. Send, or rather get my mother to write to Dunn, and give

him this information, and thank Mr. Bruce for his letter to Mr. Crawford. We shall set out on Monday from Killileagh. Adieu! In a hurry going back to the castle, past four o'clock.

“Yours most affectionately, &c.”

Being on another visit to the North in July, he writes thus to Mrs. Rowan :—

“*Thursday, 7th July, 1785.*”

“I should be much to blame if I passed a second post-town without saying that Jones and I set out about seven yesterday, and lay at Dunleer, and are now breakfasting at Dundalk. Whether we shall get further than Newry or not, this night, we are not determined; but next day will certainly take us to Hillsborough; the horse performed much better than the carriage, which will much want new legs upon its return. I think Jones and I shall return together; we have proposed spending a day with the Newtonards reform club. Evans wanted us much to stop at Mount Evans, but we would not. We are now deliberating whether we shall go to Ravensdale or Lord Clanbrassil’s house: we walked a good deal yesterday, and I vote for the latter as nearest. * * * I shall go to the Belfast review * * * God bless you and William, says and ever will say your most sincerely affectionate friend and husband, guardian, and protector,

“A. H. R.”

“ *Killileagh, 13th July, 1785.*

“ This being the post day, I set down for your inspection a few circumstances attending my progress through this volunteering journey; first thanking you for your letter and anxiety for my fame.

“ Lord Charlemont came here on Sunday, and Blackwood received him; I turned into the guard and was asked to dine with him, but, as you may imagine, being the only one asked from the castle, I refused; the next day, a beautiful scene indeed, the review formed; the volunteers were really *drilled*, that is, for fear of accidents, a *drill* was made by a plough along the field, to which we stood. I performed as gallantly as did all my brother volunteers, and who did not? I saw the dissenting minister who was against my being a delegate, and in concert with him drew up an address which Lord Charlemont would not receive; and he means, if possible, to evade receiving any from the corps at Belfast. I urged it very strongly, perhaps more than there was occasion for, but his lordship treats me with even a marked civility, so I suppose he is not offended at the manner. We yesterday met him at Mr. Forde's, nine miles from hence, and came home in the evening. We had left a Mr. Clarke, a visitor of my father's, from England, rather ill, and when we enquired on coming into the house how he was, a certain lady cried out, that he had desired white-wine-whey, but there

being no wine left out she had sent to buy some, and supposed she would be advertised for it in the next Belfast paper. Upon enquiry we found that several ballads, very abusive indeed, and foul-mouthed without wit, had been distributed about the town, from Belfast, one of which I have enclosed for you. My father intends to give my mother one of them in the ball-room at Hillsborough, and tell her he believes she has not seen it since it was in print. I advise him not to declare war. He very seriously spoke of my occupying the castle, and in a most affectionate manner. This I think is worth consideration, and we will consult upon it. I go to-morrow to Belfast, where there are two days reviews. Jones comes back with me, so that you may be sure of our arrival before parliament meets. Adieu, my ever dear girl,

A. H. R."

The volunteers now began to make strenuous efforts in favor of reform. Some citizens of Belfast resolved on calling a meeting for that purpose. These were to be all Protestants, five from each county, and the same number from every large town; that they should meet in Dublin, and propose a plan; the assembly to be called a national convention. My father and I were appointed as two of the five for the county of Down. About one hundred persons met in Dublin at a room in William-street. Here Mr. Flood, one of those nominated, developed his plan, but it being merely

a Protestant reform it was rejected, and he retired from the society. A motion was now made, declaring that the possession of civil rights belonged equally to all Irishmen, whatever religious opinions they might adopt. Only seventeen members supported this resolution, and the meeting was shortly after adjourned *sine die*.

[Prior to Mr. Rowan's journies in 1785, there had been a meeting of delegates from thirty-eight volunteer corps reviewed in Belfast, on the 9th of June, 1783, at which it had been resolved, "That a more equal representation of the people in parliament deserves the attention of every Irishman." On the 8th of September following a meeting was held at Dungannon, of about 500 delegates from 248 corps of volunteers in the province of Ulster, and a series of resolutions passed for the redress of grievances, and a reform of the constitution. It was also resolved that a committee of five from each county should meet in Dublin, to represent the province in a grand national convention. The number of volunteers represented was not less than 18,000. "It is said that government was at first seriously alarmed at this meeting, and deliberated on the propriety of arresting both the chairman and secretary; but this measure being deemed hazardous, it artfully contrived to divide the opinion of the assembly respecting the extension of certain privileges to the Roman Catholics, and so rendered the efforts of the convention abor-

tive.”* To this failure the following passage of the memoir must allude :—]

Since my return to Ireland I have read the *Life of Arthur O’Leary*, published in 1822. The following paragraph completely discloses the mystery of the dissolution of the volunteers who had assembled at the Rotunda :—

“ In November, 1783, whilst the convention was engaged in a debate on the propriety of introducing into the measures of reform which they contemplated, the privilege of Catholics voting at elections for members of parliament, a message was delivered by Mr. George Ogle, purporting to be from Lord Kenmare, and setting forth that the Catholics were satisfied with the privileges they had already obtained, and desired no more. Lord Kenmare was understood to make this acknowledgment in the name of his fellow Catholics, and by their authority. The sensation which such a communication produced in the meeting may be more easily conceived than described. Lord Kenmare, however, disowned any part in the transaction. In consequence of his disavowal, Mr. George Ogle confessed that he had been misled by Sir Boyle Roche, on whom all the mistake was laid. He was at that time chamberlain to the Lord Lieutenant,

* *Collectanea Politica*, vol. 1, p. 354; see also the *History of Belfast*, and HARDY’S *Life of Charlemont*. In the last it is stated that “ Lord Charlemont’s friends took the lead in rejecting the proposition.” vol. 2, p. 100.

and his apology was, '*that unhappily the clamour of the deluded populace* had induced his lordship to disown him'—'that he could not blame him, for in strictness he had a right to do so.' Thus ended this affair."

[Notwithstanding the "alleged disavowal of having any part in the transaction," those who understood the character of Lord Kenmare would, perhaps, have little difficulty in believing that the report spoke his sentiments in regard to the Catholic body, especially if the following graphic delineation be a faithful copy of the original:—"He had few of those qualities which are necessary to sway or to enlighten a multitude. Affecting to control and to direct popular movements, no man seemed less acquainted with the moral machinery by which popular purposes are usually effected. He was cold, unconciliating, timid, yet fond of petty power, influenced by puny ambition, hanging between the Catholic and the Protestant, and sacrificing alternately, and generally unpropitiously, to the evil genii around the Castle on the one side, and to the chained spirit of his country on the other. Lord Kenmare, unlike Lord Taaffe, saw nothing on a broad national scale; he sincerely desired relief from grievance, but he looked for such relief to paltry artifice, secret diplomacy, bureau influence, and all that miserable train of official expedients, by which no people were ever yet delivered from their bondage, nor any revolution truly national or perma-

ment effected in a great or enlightened community. Lord Kenmare was a mere second-rate negotiator; and in such a warfare, a Catholic nobleman had little chance of successful competition with the protean tactics of an ascendancy cabinet. Duped by the minister, to the Catholic body mysterious and deceitful, betrayed himself and betraying others, he dragged on his feeble ascendancy, as degrading to the body which admitted it as to the individual who imposed the yoke, until the insidious motion of 1783, brought forward under the immediate influence of the castle, but rejected by a large majority of the committee, produced a renewal of those dissensions which had so long distracted all Catholic councils. This insult, as he construed it to be, was never pardoned.”—*Historical Sketch of the late Catholic Association*, by THOMAS WYSE, Esq., jun., vol. i. pp. 102, 103.]

I now wrote to my friend Dr. Jebb* on the

* John Jebb was a Fellow of Peterhouse College, Cambridge, when I had the happiness to be recommended to his care. At that time he was a clergyman, and possessed two livings in the vicinity of the town; to one of which he had been presented by the university. These, with his private pupils, and small paternal independence, constituted his income. All these he surrendered from principle, on his throwing off his ecclesiastical gown, and retiring to Leyden, where he studied medicine, and obtained the degree of M. D. He practised in London for some time with such success, that had his bodily energy kept pace with that of his mind, he might have been reckoned among the heads of his profession there; but he died at fifty years of age, shortly after writing these letters.—A. H. R.

subject, from whom I received the two following letters :—

“ Parliament-street, 5th March, 1785.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I received with the greatest pleasure your favour of the 29th January, and cordially rejoice in the account you give me of yourself. From what I have seen elsewhere, and from the judgment I am entitled to form of you, I fear neither your heart nor your head ; and trust now you are settled in your own country you will be eminently useful to your generation—the highest praise of man.

“ As to the questions you put to me, I can only say what I have ever said to others, and endeavoured to act upon myself : Explore with the utmost exertion of your faculties political truth, and having found it, avow it with firmness and perseverance. In the end it must succeed, and your character be stamped with honour. Temporizing expedients are always injurious, when contrary to natural right and natural feelings. In my third letter to Mr. Sharman I have at full length declared my opinion respecting the Catholic question : I cannot without self-condemnation depart from that idea. The true fact is, the Roman Catholic clergy are naturally induced to look to clerical emoluments, and as long as the church hierarchy subsists, they are under a temptation to envy the persons in possession ; hence the ground for alarm in the minds of many, that the laity, under the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy, would be disposed to raise commotions to reinstate the followers of the Church of Rome in ecclesiastical benefices. With respect to lands now in the hands of Protestants, I really think there can be no danger. Upon the plan of a gradual extension of the

right of suffrage, a length of time would be required to form an interest for this purpose. I own that I myself am of opinion that one law should be to the Papist and the Protestant, and that there is no occasion for any jealousy whatever, as the evil apprehended from the priesthood above hinted might be effectually done away in the first exertions of a reformed parliament, viz. : by a diminution of the great clerical benefices, the exclusion of bishops from the House of Lords, *and the substitution of a proper payment of the parochial clergy, in lieu of that bane of all improvement, tithes.*

“ Such a measure, diminishing in a great degree the lustre of the things contended for, viz. church emoluments, would put an end to priestly avarice and intolerance, which must subsist as long as the present emoluments subsist.

“ You see I write freely, perhaps boldly ; but, I am satisfied, agreeably to political truth.

“ All who know me know my attachment to the cause of gospel truth ; but I must declare I think the priesthood has ever been the cause of your present state of imbecility in your efforts to reform the representation.

“ Christianity may flourish, and would flourish more without the aid of bishops in the House of Lords. I have no doubt but that a reformed parliament would see this : the clergy see it already, and therefore are your enemies.

“ As to the Protestants of the north, I much wonder they should be alarmed with respect to the Roman Catholics. Surely they are exempt from danger. Much more reason have they to fear the intolerant spirit of the established church ; but as I said before, if the brilliancy of church emolument were diminished, an honest Protestant would have to fear neither. *A reformed parlia-*

ment is therefore the first point to be aimed at ; but I fear that none can be obtained, unless the honourable and worthy of all persuasions cordially unite in the attempt.

“ With respect to your own line of conduct, it becomes me not to meddle : you must judge for yourself ; I only mention my own ideas.

“ On the case of ballot, I own I think it would not answer ; not even in Ireland, where the terror of the tenantry respecting landholders is extreme. The great point with respect to boroughs seems to be in diffusing power, *i. e.* the right of suffrage among householders, who, by their nigh dwelling and easy assembling, may check the power of great landholders. Towns like Belfast should be divided into many districts, each electing one member ; but all this would be easy on Major Cartwright’s plan ; or if suffrage was allowed, even as far as to householders. I know not Mr. Pitt’s idea, having no communication with ministers. The conduct of your house and ministry raises my suspicions, or more than suspicions, of administration here. I hope when the congress meet again, lights may transpire from this country : be firm, be resolute. The words of Horace are strong : *Invidiam placare paras, virtute relictâ ? contemnere miser.*

“ I am yours affectionately, with every good wish from hence to you and yours,

“ JOHN JEBB.”

“ September 29th, 1785.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I received by the hands of your friend Mr. Kerr your favour of the 15th instant, and this morning that of the 22d. Your spirit in the cause of the public does you great honour, and affords me peculiar

pleasure. Do not under-rate your abilities ; rather labour to improve them, as I have no doubt you do ; for I am satisfied your integrity and firmness will render you an useful citizen, and gain you honour and respect in the opinion of the worthiest and ablest of your countrymen. Your principles I cannot but approve, because they are the same with my own. The question is only how you and I, holding such principles, should act ? I am supposed by many, too pertinacious in my sentiments, and have by some, of what are called moderate men, been called *impracticable* ; but I do not repent. I labour in the first place to explore political truth ; when found, I would avow it, support it, diffuse it, act upon it, and never renounce it. Now supposing your feelings as my feelings, how would I advise you to act, with respect to the two great points of the Roman Catholics, and the universal right of suffrage ? Certainly I would in all places and at all times avow my opinions, that no reform can be justly founded which does not admit the Roman Catholics, and does not restore to the people their full power. And if I were concerned in drawing up an act, the declaration of these rights should form the preamble. But you are a member of a society wherein the majority do not go so far ; so am I ; and whenever I have an opportunity of doing it with propriety, I push my idea ; but I do not think it right to renounce communion with a set of men whom I admire and love, and who, I am persuaded, are actuated by the purest views, because I cannot persuade them to go to the lengths I do. If I were called upon to join in any act implying a renunciation of my principles, I would refuse to comply, and protest against the unworthy imposition. Our society lately passed a vote of half approbation of Mr. Pitt's reform. I opposed it with all my powers ; I protested against it, because I look

upon Mr. Pitt's plan as inadequate, hostile to true policy, subversive of morality, and even much worse than no reform at all ; but still I continue a member, and I trust that we shall still do great service to the common cause. I mention these facts, as from them you can collect what would be my conduct in your case ; you ask my opinion, otherwise I should not thus presume. I certainly would labour to persuade my fellow-citizens to adopt more generous notions respecting the Roman Catholics, representing to them that at first (always professing the universal right) votes might be allowed to men of a certain quantity of property, the balance still remaining on the side of the Protestants ; that thus a trial would be made. I know the event : the Roman Catholic religion, or at least the worst part of it, would gradually decay. Persecution being removed, light, and learning, and industry would effect the rest. If a member of the convention, I would intrepidly propose my idea, I would make my motion ; but, if rejected, why should you withdraw your name, and deprive yourself of the power of being useful in a less degree ? In the reform club I would, where it could be done with propriety, support my idea ; but why take offence if the majority do not assent ? Act in concert with them, so far as they go with you ; labour with others like-minded, by publications and in discourse, to diffuse political truth. In the North you would have many whose hearts would go in concert with you. Yet reject not the communion of men who, certainly, by the institution of the club, show they are in earnest and actuated by the best views. I am satisfied that in the people at large rests the authority to hold forth a complete plan of reform ; and that no plan which originates elsewhere will be effectual. My letters to Colonel Sharman, and my address to the freeholders of Middlesex, express

my idea ; from that idea I cannot depart. A convention of the people should be sensible of its own dignity ; *they should not petition parliament* ; they should declare their will, and, in connexion with the king and nobles, *should enact*. They should even declare the place of representative of the people vacant, if the people will support them in the idea, and refuse to pay the taxes imposed by any other assembly. Here I go the whole ground ; I cannot allow to a partial representation the power of defining the people's rights, or of regulating the mode in which they are to give their suffrages. If the aristocracy perceived this spirit in the people, neither the lords nor the crown would longer dare to oppose their wishes ; nothing but the idea that the people will do the business themselves will have any effect upon the friends of despotism ; but unanimity is required ; and to produce this unanimity, much previous information is necessary, and this I trust you will ever labour to promote ; being ready in the mean time to join in any good work which leads to perfect freedom, though not generally establishing it, and joining heartily with good men in doing good, though it be not *all* the good we wish. Such is my idea ; I mention my feeling without reserve. If a number of gentlemen would unite upon the form you have sent me, it would be well ; but I cannot think the reform club would assent to it, and unless you find a majority, or that in general they were disposed to it, where would be the advantage of proposing it to them ? Many who would demur subscribing to such a test may yet be good friends to reform, and it would be injurious to the cause to have such excluded. The plan is fitter for the association of persons in different districts, whose sentiments you know to accord with your own. One idea I must beg leave also to throw out, which is, not to speak or even to think

too hardly of individuals embarked in the same design. It is right to give them credit for their exertions : suppose them actuated by worthy motives till you know otherwise, and do not give them offence even then ; the adversary rejoices in the want of union of the friends of political virtue ; every thing conciliating should be attempted, and no man rejected who will go with us one mile on the road to reform. And for heaven's sake, avoid all violence of expression. Once more, be not diffident of your own abilities to serve the cause ; go on with firmness in your own idea ; be courteous to all, willing to act with all, where you can do so without violation of your own principles, which ought ever to be sacred. I rejoice in the victory of the people in the late important struggle, but let them persevere ; bad things are intended by our ministry ; beware of an *union*.

“ With Mrs. Jebb's good wishes, ever affectionately yours,

“ JOHN JEBB.”

In the “ Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright ” I find a passage concerning that invaluable character, *Dr. Jebb* ; it expresses sentiments in such accordance with my own, that I hope I shall be excused for copying it into this memorial.

“ Gracious God ! that I should live to see John Jebb held forth by a professed friend to virtue, as ‘ a man of too much warmth, and too little worldly wisdom, to be proposed as a model of right public conduct ! ’

“ If emotions the most poignant on reading this passage, if the strictest reference to precepts of morality and religion, and the most rigid scrutiny of reason, can justify reverence and affection for an exalted character, I ought

to feel that reverence and affection for the memory of John Jebb ; and for the very reasons which have induced his biographer to undervalue him, to hold him up as a bright example to a degenerate world ! If his feelings were acute, and his temperament warm, they served the ends for which the Deity has given us feeling and sympathy, to stimulate to virtuous actions ; for if any man was a conscientious imitator of the mildness and benevolence of Jesus, it was my departed friend. Often indeed have I seen him agitated by the counteraction of the selfish and the criminally ambitious ; often have I known him misrepresented and traduced with acrimony ; but never did I know him on such occasions to speak or act otherwise than as the dictates of christian charity and political wisdom (according to my conceptions of them) dictated to him.

“ And is it true that the ‘ principles of the American war,’ and those by which every scheme for a reform of parliament, to be worthy of regard, must be regulated, have ‘ ceased to interest ?’ God forbid that I should endeavour to inculcate such doctrines ! God forbid that my country should be so utterly lost to public feeling, and so utterly incapable of virtuous sentiments, as to subscribe to an opinion so degrading ! For me, for inspiring the rising generation to act worthily and greatly, I would propose to them the godlike example of John Jebb.”

[To the brief sketch of Dr. John Jebb given in the Memoir, it may not be uninteresting to add that his reputation as a scholar stood high at Cambridge. He alarmed the university by giving lectures on the Greek Testament, in which he broached

doctrines repugnant to the "Thirty-nine Articles." In consequence of reading the Scriptures without the control of creeds, he became a Unitarian; and after resigning his church livings, he followed the practise of physic, and became a distinguished politician in London. In these proceedings he was heartily cheered by Mrs. Jebb, who deemed no duty superior to preserving the integrity of his conscience. Of this excellent lady the reader may see an interesting memoir in the *Monthly Repository* for October and November, 1812, from which the preceding and following notices are selected. In a thin and small, but elegantly formed person, she lodged a vigorous and comprehensive mind; her conversation was sprightly, argumentative and profound; her language fluent, happy, and correct; her countenance beaming with animation and benevolence. In her were combined superior powers of intellect with the liveliest sensibilities of the female heart. In some literary contests, under the assumed name of *Priscilla*, she supported her husband's opinions with a force of argument that made his antagonists quail. Her success against Dr. Randolph was so signal, that Paley quaintly and happily observed, "See this whole charge answered in the *London Chronicle*, by PRISCILLA. The Lord hath sold *Sisera* into the hand of a woman!" With her husband she reprobated the design of coercing the American colonies; joined in his exertions to procure a reform in parliament, and took a leading part with him in the

discussion of all great constitutional questions. Amongst these the liberties of the Irish nation were pre-eminent, from the formidable attitude which that nation had of late assumed. Dr. Jebb's exertions brought on a premature decay; and his afflicted wife, after attending him in a fruitless excursion to Cheltenham for relief, watched over his pillow with most anxious solicitude, and received his last sigh on the evening of March 2, 1786. During the remainder of her life, she cherished those sentiments of genuine piety and christian philanthropy which were dear to a husband whose memory she revered, and to whose authority she would appeal while pointing with veneration to his bust, which stood beside her on a table. "She had a nice, and even scrupulous sense of honour and propriety, and a delicacy of mind which admitted no compromise with that masculine boldness in which some females of a highly cultivated intellect have at times indulged." After a confinement of many years, sustained with cheerful resignation, this estimable lady died January 10, 1812, and was interred over the remains of her husband, in the dissenters' burying ground, Bunhill Fields, London. No monumental eulogy is wanting to record their worth.

John Dunne, Esq. K.C. mentioned in one of the letters to Mrs. Rowan, was a gentleman whose society and friendship were worthy of being courted in the first circles of the land. He was the son of the Rev. Dr. Dunne, a highly esteemed pastor of

the Presbyterian congregation of Strand-street, Dublin. "Possessed," as the Rev. Dr. Armstrong has truly stated, "of natural talents of a very high order, he improved and embellished them with a varied store of literary acquirements seldom found united in one person. He was long a leading member of the Irish bar, and also a member of the Irish parliament, in both of which situations he maintained a character of spotless integrity. In the latter part of his life he devoted himself with deep interest and research to the study of the sacred scriptures, and was a decided Unitarian. All his acquirements and honors derived an indescribable charm from the urbanity of his demeanor, and the boundless benevolence of his heart."

It is much to be lamented that we have no fuller record, none at least known to the editor, of this highly estimable character. Such men as he should not be consigned to oblivion. One durable memorial of his genius may be seen in the ninth volume of the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," viz. a paper entitled "NOTICES relative to some of the NATIVE TRIBES OF NORTH AMERICA, *read May 3, 1802.*" Disgusted by the turbulent and sanguinary scenes of civilized life at a time when his professional reputation would soon have seated him on the bench, he was led by a romantic wish to become acquainted with man in the savage state. Accordingly he crossed the Atlantic, and for a time conformed to the manners and customs of an Indian tribe. His wish to know what passed in the "re-

cesses of the North American wigwams, and in the hearts of their inhabitants," was fully gratified by the friendship of a Miami chief, who adopted him, (according to their custom, in the place of a deceased friend by whose name he was distinguished) and who entered warmly into his views and gave him his confidence. The chief who thus honoured him was the celebrated Tehikanakoa who commanded the united Indians at the defeat of General St. Clair. With these "Notices" are connected some tales and fables of the Indians, with strictures on their language, which are highly interesting. In his selection of some rythmical lines of the Indian muse, as well as in his own brilliant description, he presents us with a nobly poetic idea of the "*Sublime Niagara,*" *whose father is the sun, whose bed, in which the great ocean laid her down, was excavated by the impetuous lightnings; the parent of exhalations, whose dews shine as the silver of heaven, feared by the thunder, by the rainbow loved.*

William Drennan, M.D. one of Mr. Rowan's principal political friends, was well known as a gentleman of highly cultivated mind, a physician, a patriot, and a poet, of whose genius Ireland may be proud. His father was the Rev. T. Drennan, a Protestant dissenting minister of great piety and learning, pastor of the first congregation of Protestant dissenters in Belfast. He was born in 1755, and received his professional education in the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and followed his profession successively in Newry, Dub-

lin, and Belfast. He was resident in the first of these places when Mr. Rowan first commenced an acquaintance with him, which was subsequently renewed in Dublin, when they were frequently brought together by their co-operation in the same cause. Independently of this there were perhaps but few points of mutual attraction between them. Apparently there was a remarkable contrast: the one being of Herculean size, warm, impetuous, but highly polished and courteous withal; the other low in stature, cold in manner, slow, deliberative, but lodging in his breast the elements of a lofty and noble spirit. He took an early interest in the political affairs of his country, and acquired no small celebrity by a series of animated addresses to the "seven northern counties not represented in the national assembly of delegates held at Dublin, in October, 1784, for obtaining a more equal representation of the people in the parliament of Ireland." These addresses were first published in the *Belfast News-Letter*, under the title of "Letters of Orellana, an Irish Helot." He remained faithful to the principles he had early embraced, and helped to keep alive the patriotic spirit of his country, by various compositions, always distinguished by their energy and warmth, among which may be reckoned his Letters to Pitt and to Fox. He was one of the first and most zealous promoters of the society of United Irishmen, and author of the well known test of their union. His muse also having caught the inspiration of Tyrtæus, and of him who sung

the eulogy and epicidium of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, poured forth such strains as extorted for their poetry the praises even of those who dissented from their political sentiments. The song of "*Erin to her own tune*," was at its first publication sung and resung in every corner of the land, and it still continues to enjoy the admiration of its readers. It had the glory of first designating his country as "*The Emerald Isle*," an appellation which will be permanent as it is beautiful and appropriate. His "*Glendalough*" is a monument of his genius, venerable as the "hallowed tower" which it celebrates, and inscribed with the deep indignant feelings with which he contemplated the wrongs of his country. He wrote some hymns of such rare beauty and excellence, as to cause a regret that they are not more numerous, and in some of the lighter kinds of poetry showed much of the playful wit and ingenuity of Goldsmith. Several compositions of great power on political subjects have been attributed to his pen; with what justice it will be the business of his biographer to ascertain. In 1800, he published "*A Protest from one of the People of Ireland against a Union with Great Britain*," in which he expresses his "fixt abhorrence and instinctive antipathy against this legislative and incorporating union, that takes away the BODY as well as the SOUL of the Irish people."* Though deeply engaged in the political transactions of Ireland,

* In these sentiments he differed widely from Mr. Rowan.

though prosecuted and incarcerated, he did not neglect the more tranquil and elegant studies of polite literature. Having removed from Dublin to Belfast, he there, in conjunction with some literary gentlemen, of whom were the celebrated botanist John Templeton, Esq. and John Handcock of Lisburn, undertook the publication of the *Belfast Magazine*, for which he wrote the "Monthly Political Retrospects," compositions easily recognized to be his, by the elegant illustration of their various topics and the warm colouring of their style. He took a prominent part in the establishment of the Belfast Academical Institution, and published a volume of Fugitive Pieces in 1815, and in 1817 a translation of the *Electra of Sophocles*. He died in 1820, leaving a beloved wife with three sons and a daughter to lament his loss, and deeply regretted by all who had enjoyed the pleasure of his society and friendship. Of his eldest son, William Drennan, Esq. M.R.I.A. the editor does not stand alone in affirming that he inherits the taste and genius of his father.

Another character to whom our attention is directed, by his being the fellow-traveller of Mr. Rowan in his volunteer excursion to the north, is William Todd Jones, a gentleman of respectable family in the north of Ireland, and for some years a representative in parliament of the borough of Lisburn. He took an early and active part in the affairs of the volunteers, became a member of the Northern Whig Club, and devoted all the energies

of a vigorous and well informed mind to the liberal politics of his country. Thanks were returned to him unanimously by a meeting of delegates from thirty-eight corps of volunteers, reviewed in Belfast the 9th of June, 1783, "for the singular politeness and ability with which he conducted the review." In the following year he was appointed exercising officer by the delegates of thirty-one corps of volunteers assembled at Belfast, March 17, 1784, and at the ensuing review "set an example by lying on *straw* in the encampment, and never leaving it till the last company had marched off, which it is to be hoped will be imitated by future officers invested with so useful a trust."* His political character and spirit may be learned from the following extract from his letter of thanks for the honour thus conferred upon him:—"In Ulster I contemplate the steady supporters of Irish rights, and at Belfast I glory in the body who shewed the precedent; aristocracy, venality, self-elected parliaments, and British interests, must sink before such a virtuous phalanx. But if we should be unsuccessful, at least it will testify 'our lives have had some smack of honour in them;' and they who enslave us will have a tough bout of it, contending with men who postpone life to liberty." When Lord Charlemont, in reply to an address from the volunteer army reviewed at Belfast, dissented from their wish to extend the elective franchise to their *Catholic* fellow-

* *History of Belfast*, Berwick, 1817.

subjects, Jones addressed a letter to them, animadverting on his Lordship's answer, and strongly recommending the measure to which his Lordship objected.* Agreeably to this recommendation, in 1792, he published a letter to the societies of united Irishmen in Belfast on the restoration of the rights of the Roman Catholics, and rendered the latter such important services, that their "committee of honorable engagements" resolved to express the gratitude of their body by a donation of £1,500. Of this sum he received £1,000; but the remaining £500 not being given, he expressed his "extorted disapprobation" of their ingratitude, and of their "bronzed insensibility of ALL MEMORY SUBDUED," in an advertisement in which he compares himself to "a laborious river pouring forth its current of life, and them to a barren shallow ingulfing it to its fountain:" at the same time he reminds them, that for fourteen years he had been tacitly receiving newspaper detraction upon the score of being the advocate of the Catholics of Ireland. W. Paulet Carey, editor of the *Evening Star*, eulogized him as the "first Protestant senator who brought forward the question of Catholic emancipation." When Sir Richard Musgrave published his *History of the Irish Rebellion*, Mr. Jones was exasperated by some offensive passages in that work, and in a reply refuting Musgrave's assertions, he speaks with proud scorn at being obliged to enter the lists with such

* *History of Belfast*, Berwick, 1817,

an antagonist. "I can now," says he, "be truly sensible of the tyranny of a Nero, who compelled a gentleman to combat with a gladiator." He refutes the charge that he was influenced by "sordid or sinister motives" in espousing the cause of his Roman Catholic countrymen, with whom for many years he had no connection, "owing," says he, "to the circumstances of my early education in Britain, as well as of my birth, which was hereditarily in the established church, and in the very bosom of the Quakers and other Protestant dissenters of Ulster. To the Quakers be my perpetual gratitude ! to them I am indebted for the imbuing my youthful mind with humanity, forbearance, and toleration !"

Touching his acquaintance with Tone, which is dwelt upon by Sir Richard with peculiar repetition and pertinacity, he speaks in terms highly honourable to his own manly and generous character, as will be admitted even by those who pronounce the most unqualified condemnation on Tone's political career. "True, he was the son of a coachmaker. I cannot wipe away the aspersion with *those* to whom it is such, and indelible. He is dead ! and early friendship drops a tear upon his catastrophe, pardoned but by such a bosom as Sir Richard Musgrave's. I seek not to disclose his merits, or draw his frailties from the tomb. Remote from all political considerations, he was genius, taste, and talent PERSONIFIED ; almost unrivalled in the qualities which convince the reason and arrest

the heart. Would any dreaming Irishman but Sir Richard Musgrave have imagined that I would shrink from HIS name, and much less so when departed? I have ever thought boldly FOR MYSELF, and so thinking, have boldly acted, both towards my friends and towards my foes."

Of Sir Richard's book he says, "it is the stab of Falstaff inflicted upon the slaughtered Percy;"* and concludes by remarking: "With Sir Richard Musgrave let there remain the glory of having done his uttermost in extinguishing any faint ray which might now be orient in Ireland, any dawning promise of returning confidence, tranquillity, and reconciliation—to have edited one more libel in translation of a whole people; * * * to have testified himself one of that too numerous band of native landholders, who compose in Ireland the unnatural and unique phenomenon amid the nations of the world—men who detest the countryman that cultivates their acres, who calumniate to *other countries* the subdued and crawling peasant of their own; and whose ears and hearts are to be chiefly gratified

* Sir Richard Musgrave's book was dedicated to the Marquis of Cornwallis, by permission. But on its publication the "permission" was ordered to be withdrawn, by a rescript from Dublin Castle, dated March 24, 1801, and stating that, "had his Excellency been apprized of the contents and nature of the work, he would never have lent the sanction of his name to a book which tends strongly to revive the dreadful animosities which have so long distracted this country, and which it is the duty of every good subject to endeavour to compose.—COL. EDWARD LITTLEHALES."

by a rancorous, indiscriminate, and defamatory abuse of *those*, than which nothing could more insult and mortify the gentlemen of every other clime in Europe, THE GENERAL INHABITANTS OF THEIR NATIVE LAND.”*

In Tone’s *Life* may be seen a letter from Lady Moira, mother of the Marquis of Hastings, to William Todd Jones, in which she says : “ I have been amazed with your eccentricities since you were three feet high. As for making a *democrat* of me, that, you must be persuaded, is a fruitless hope ; for to keep my *Manche* and my Clarence arms it is more probable I should turn Amazon ; and having the blood of Hugh Capet in my veins, am from nature a firm *aristocrat* : yet I like to see and hear persons of different sentiments.”

Though he wished to make Lady Moira a democrat, it has been said that there was no inconsiderable share of aristocratic feeling in his own temperament—an incongruity by no means uncommon. In company he was highly diverting and facetious. The polish of his manners and the vivacity of his conversation rendered him acceptable to the best society.—ED.]

* Dated, Liverpool, July 30, 1801, and near Wrexham in Denbighshire.

CHAPTER VII.

Elected to command the Killileagh Volunteers—Northern Whig Club—Dr. Haliday—Celebration of the French Revolution in Belfast—National Guards—Government prohibits the meetings of the Volunteers—Lord Charlemont grieved by their proceedings—United Irishmen—progress of their union—French influence—Rabaud de St. Etienne—Rowan accused of distributing a seditious libel—Affair of Tandy with Toler—Acts as second to Dowling in his duel with Burrowes—Interview with the Lord Chancellor—Falsely accused by the Lord Advocate of Scotland—Goes to Edinburgh—arrested—bailed—Letter of Colonel Macleod on duelling—Scottish Political Martyrs—Returns to Ireland.

[IN May, 1786, Mr. Rowan was unanimously chosen to the command of the Killileagh Volunteers, on which occasion he wrote a letter to their secretary, Mr. William M'Connell, expressing his thanks, and the sentiments by which he was influenced in accepting the honor of such an appointment. "I think it my duty," says he, "to lay my general ideas before the community into which I am called. I must own the torpid state of the volunteers of Ireland distresses me. At the first institution of the volunteer associations, the peace of this nation was endangered by foreign invaders, and the universal obligation of bearing arms for the public defence seemed to be equalled by the zeal

with which the people armed themselves ; an uniformity of opinion concerning the internal politics of this nation has been concluded ; some corps have laid down their arms, whilst others have started up ; some new links, then, are now necessary ; the reformation of the present state of the representation of the people is, in my opinion, the point to which, and to which alone, the volunteers should tend. The constitution is as much endangered now from the corruption and the unconstitutional influence of a few domestic, as it formerly was from a host of foreign, enemies. Are the volunteers to be contented to meet annually in silent mock parade ? are they, with the arms of peace in their hands, to permit that constitution, which the blood of our ancestors was shed in establishing against open force, to be mouldered down by the corrupt practices of a few ? Or are they to stand forth the guardians of the rights of mankind, and the determined opposers of every kind of tyranny ? When I was proposed and admitted into the Killinchy company of volunteers, it was not for the parade of the red coat, nor the merriment of a review day : it was to assist in defeating the insidious policy of corrupt courtiers, who decried the institution, because they dreaded its virtue. It is with this view that I now accept the honour you are pleased to confer on me ; and by these ideas my future conduct will be regulated ; and I trust that the company, who have so affectionately called me among them, will co-operate in the noble cause."

In a letter of the same date, to the volunteers of Killinchy, he says, that "among citizens armed for their constitutional as well as national safety, no superiority is known but that of daring most for the public good." He then exhorts them thus:—"Persevere, my dear friends, in the constitutional privilege of not only bearing arms, but being familiar in the use of them, which can only be acquired by exercising in bodies. Ministers may be insolent, the great and wealthy may be corrupt; but a free and intrepid yeomanry, with the arms of peace and of defence in their hands, will, I trust, preserve this once famous, but now tottering constitution."

In 1790, the Northern Whig Club was formed in Belfast by some zealous friends of liberty, at the suggestion of Lord Charlemont, who had been chiefly instrumental in forming the Whig Club of Dublin.* His friend and correspondent, Dr. Haliday, entered warmly into his views, and the club was formed under the most favourable auspices; and with the hope that by promoting the cause of constitutional freedom, the progress of the wild democratical notions, which now began to prevail, might be arrested. Of this society, which soon comprehended some of the most distinguished names

* "Whilst he was thus constitutionally and wisely employed, some of the Castle adherents insisted, in all companies, that he was diffusing anarchy, and a spirit of resistance to all government; and one person said, that 'Haliday should be hanged;' the usual ebullitions of ignorant servitude and precipitate arrogance."—HARDY'S *Life of Charlemont*, vol. 2, p. 195.

in the north of Ireland, Gawin Hamilton, Esq. was appointed president, and Dr. Haliday secretary. From the latter Mr. Rowan received a complimentary letter, from which is the following extract :—
“ When we first thought of establishing a Northern Whig Club (a measure which the circumstances of the times seem loudly to call for, and which is already operating to the public good), you naturally occurred to our thoughts ; your excellent principles were too well known, and your exertions in behalf of liberty and of justice, not to excite a general wish that we might have you to boast of as one of our members. I now write, with the pleasing expectation that I shall be empowered to add your name to our respectable list of original members, and in the hope that we may have the satisfaction of seeing you sometimes amongst us.”

Of the accomplished writer of this request, the reader may see a well drawn sketch in the *Belfast Magazine* for September, 1810. Though anonymous, it may be recognized by its tone and colour to be an emanation from the pencil of Drennan, as one or two extracts will testify :—

“ Alexander Henry Haliday, M.D. a gentleman, who, for the space of half a century, illustrated his native town of Belfast by a character distinguished for private worth, consistent public spirit, much elegant accomplishment, and high professional reputation. His talents and attainments were far from being confined within the circle of his profession, though they were never allowed to interfere

with his duties. His powers in conversation, so generally admired, were the product of a great sociability of nature, and a quick discernment, rendered still more acute by native wit: lively without libertinism, and sportive without sarcasm. His wit was a salt that highly seasoned the pleasures of the table, without any corrosive malignity. He loved to play with words, as Scipio and the good Lælius are said to have diverted themselves with pebbles. In fact he possessed all those various and versatile qualities which render conversation interesting and delightful—good sense, facility of thought, taste, fancy, a knowledge of the world, a turn for agreeable anecdote, a happy frivolity, an easy and graceful vivacity. A man of such a mind and such manners naturally became the real resident representative of his native town. On every public occasion, when Belfast wished to place itself in the most respectable point of view, to visitors distinguished by rank, station, or talent, Dr. Halliday, at the head of the table, was in his appropriate place; and his guests, however eminent, never failed to find in the physician of a country town, an urbanity of manners, a variety of information, a happy and opportune wit, a just tone and *timing* in whatever he said, which set him, at the least, on a level with those who possessed patents of dignity or high official situations. * * * In his political principles he was a genuine Whig; not understanding by that denomination, the mere factionary of a powerful party, but the hearty hater of arbi-

trary power, whether exercised by individuals or by parties ; the zealous, yet the judicious advocate of civil and religious freedom ; the strong upholder of those popular principles which form the living spirit of the British constitution, and which, at different periods, have called forth all the heroism of British story. It was at the civic commemoration of those illustrious epochs, in which Haliday gave his head and heart to the social celebration, while he supported at the same time the just prerogatives of the crown, as perfectly compatible with the original and ultimate sovereignty of the people. In the principles of civil and religious liberty he lived, and in them he died ; they were the loved of his youthful friendships, and they consolidated the attachments of his maturer years. These were the associating principles of Maclaine, Bruce, Wight, and Plunket, the principles of the venerable Camden, and the amiable Charlemont, of the untitled Stewart, and the unpensioned Burke. These were the principles which gained him the confidential correspondence of that great and good man, Henry Grattan, and the same principles which led him to regard Charles Fox as the tutelary genius of the British constitution."

The volunteers had done much for the good of their country, but the progress of reform was tardy ; and though it had gone on with accelerating speed, it could scarcely have kept pace with the ardent and excited imaginations of those, who were ready to peril life and fortune in what they deemed the

sacred cause of liberty and man. The French revolution acted as a spell on the minds of Irishmen, rendering them more and more impatient of their grievances, and prompting them to more energetic exertion, to break asunder every link of the chains by which they felt themselves galled. They had seen a mighty nation rising as a lion from slumber, casting off the yoke under which she had groaned for ages, and demonstrating the impotence of despotism against the stern resolves of a people intent on the vindication of their rights. Their sympathy was roused to a state of excitement almost painful, and that longed to find relief and indulgence, in reacting such spirit-stirring scenes as those which had warmed their imaginations. On the 14th of July, 1791, the French revolution was commemorated in Belfast with an indescribable enthusiasm, never witnessed there on any other occasion before nor since. "The more strongly to mark their abhorrence of tyranny, their love of liberty, and their attachment to their brethren of mankind, they dedicated that day to the commemoration of the greatest event in human annals. Twenty-six millions of our fellow-creatures, (nearly one-sixth of the inhabitants of Europe) bursting their chains, and throwing off almost in an instant the degrading yoke of slavery, is a scene so new, so interesting, and sublime, that the heart which cannot participate in the triumph, must either have been vitiated by illiberal politics, or be naturally de-

praved.”* Accordingly the volunteer societies, horse, foot, and artillery, with a dense multitude of spectators, assembled at the Exchange, and thence paraded the principal streets in all the pomp and pride of military array, with banners and scrolls inscribed with mottos expressive of the sentiments which animated their bosoms. The procession ended, and the day was closed by an entertainment, at which “Colonel Sharman, whose excellent political and private virtues have stood such tests as endear him to every good mind in this kingdom, having been unanimously called to the chair, presided with that dignity and propriety which mark every part of his conduct in life.” They pledged the health of the great friends and benefactors of mankind, of Washington and Charlemont, of Franklin, of Grattan and Price, not forgetting the memory of the illustrious dead, of Locke, of Mirabeau, and Dr. Jebb, mingled with sentiments of patriotism, liberty, and benevolence.

Such was the demonstration of public feeling in the liberal and enlightened town of Belfast, the Athens of Ireland. The example was influential and persuasive. New companies of volunteers were formed, that spoke of their country’s wrongs in more indignant tones, and demanded her rights with a voice resolved to be heard. They adopted the style, and imitated the manners of the French revolutionists. In Dublin a “National Guard” was formed, like

* *History of Belfast*, p. 348.

that of Paris ; the name of " citizen soldier " was adopted ; and the harp without the crown, and surmounted by the cap of liberty, became the favorite emblem. A summons was issued by one of their commanding officers, to the national guards and volunteer corps, to assemble on the 9th of December, 1792, to celebrate the victories of the French over the allied armies, and the triumph of universal liberty. The Irish government beheld these movements with jealousy and alarm ; and saw the necessity of raising a vigorous hand to arrest the progress of principles, which, from being those of reform, were rapidly changing into those of revolution. A proclamation was issued, forbidding the intended demonstration. Affairs had not yet arrived at an extreme, and it was sullenly obeyed ; but a fire had been kindled, which was to be extinguished only by blood.

The conduct of the volunteers was a serious affliction to the virtuous and truly patriotic Lord Charlemont, who had for many years been their most prudent counsellor as well as commander. A friend to liberty and constitutional reform, he was a foe to all such violent and anarchical proceedings as brought disgrace upon the French revolution. In a letter to Dr. Haliday, published by Hardy, he says of the French : " For a week they were old Romans, and have since been savage Gauls. Respecting the volunteers of this city, they are, alas ! no longer what they were. I have, indeed, been their nominal general ; but for many years

past they have in no instance followed my advice, nor have they ever taken it when offered unasked. Their follies have brought shame on the institution : upon a late occasion their conduct has been absolutely indefensible. No Egyptian hierophant could have invented an hieroglyphic more aptly significant of a republic, than the taking the crown from the harp, and replacing it by the cap of liberty. The corps which adopted this emblem, and gave itself the title of national guards, was on all hands condemned ; yet all my endeavours could not prevail on many other corps to avoid sharing their fate, by adopting them as brethren. Their silly affectation of French summons ! French appellations ! &c. &c. The anxiety their conduct has occasioned me is beyond expression, and neither my health or spirits can any longer bear it."

Various associations were new formed for the avowed purpose of improving the constitution ; but one which absorbed all the rest, was that which had for its object the UNION OF IRISHMEN of every grade and of every religious denomination ; and never was a plan of the kind carried on with greater success, or with a fairer promise of ultimately accomplishing the great objects for which it was devised. Theobald Wolfe Tone, generally supposed to have been the originator of this association of United Irishmen, in conjunction with Thomas Russel, a military officer, whose life was afterwards forfeited to the laws, held their first meeting in Belfast on the 14th of October, 1791. On the 9th of the following

November, a similar meeting was held at the Eagle, in Eustace-street, Dublin, at which the Honourable Simon Butler, son of Lord Mountgarret, presided, and James Napper Tandy, an opulent and influential merchant, acted as secretary. — After making a summary of their grievances, it was stated that a society had been composed of all religious persuasions, who had adopted for their name the SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN, pledged to their country and to each other, steadily to support, and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect, several resolutions to promote a cordial union of all the people of Ireland, and effect a complete and radical reform of the representation in parliament.*

The following is a copy of their celebrated test :—

“ I, A. B. in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour as much as lies in my power, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions; without which every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country.”

* Proceedings of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.—*Philadelphia*, 1795.

Rules were formed for the times of meeting and admitting members, and committees of constitution, finance, of correspondence, and of accommodation were appointed. The secretary was to be furnished with the following seal, viz: *a harp*; at the top, "*I am new strung*"; at the bottom, "*I will be heard*;" and on the exergue, "*Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.*" But the society was not long confined either to Dublin or Belfast. Like the circle caused by the pebble in the lake, it continued to spread wider and wider, not decreasing either in force or in volume as it receded from the centre; but moving on with swelling strength and accelerating speed, until it covered the land.

On the 30th of December, 1791, it was unanimously resolved that a circular, composed by Dr. Drennan, should be adopted and printed, stating that the object of the institution was to make "an united society of the Irish nation; to make all Irishmen, citizens; all citizens, Irishmen—union is power—it is wisdom—it must prove liberty." In the course of the ensuing year various similar meetings were held, and none of the means usually employed to excite and keep alive popular feeling were neglected. Numerous addresses were circulated with increasing industry, many of which, filled with republican sentiments, and of a violent revolutionary tendency, emanated from other sources than from the founders of the great national association. Paine's Rights of Man and his Age of Reason were distributed gratuitously, and the press was active in

the multiplication of inflammatory speeches and republican songs. The harp seemed, indeed, to be restrung, and to mingle with its own spirit-stirring sounds such airs as were re-echoed from the armed legions of France to the chant of *Ca ira* and the Marseillois hymn. The spirit of the union passed through every class of society, lighting on the bench and the pulpit—on the desk and the anvil—shooting like an electric shock through whole ranks of the militia—animating the breasts of women with heroic daring, and infusing courage into the hearts, and vigor into the arms, even of boys and children.]

Amid these exciting scenes Mr. Rowan was not an idle nor unconcerned spectator. “I had been elected,” says he, “major of the Independent Dublin Volunteers, of whom Mr. Grattan was colonel. I also became a member of the Whig club, and received the freedom of the Commons, with addresses from several of the Dublin corporations.”* He also joined the society of United Irishmen heart and hand, “and thus,” he continues, “circumstances led to an acquaintance with the popular leaders in Ireland, and transmitted the name of an insignificant individual to posterity.”

[The test of the United Irishmen was so plausi-

* Several of these addresses, still extant, are filled with the warmest expressions of praise and admiration of his philanthropic virtues.—ED.

ble, and its expressed object so constitutional and legitimate, that we cannot wonder that it should be taken with avidity by numbers of all classes, especially when recommended by men of talent and distinction. But when public feeling has received a strong impulse in any direction it is impossible to fix its limits. Other objects beside "an adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament," soon began to be contemplated. Nothing less than separation from England would satisfy some of the leaders, who thought this might be accomplished by the assistance of France; and that Ireland might be erected into an independent republic. Accordingly, negotiations were commenced with the French directory, and in 1791 and 1792, if Musgrave may be credited, "Rabaud de St. Etienne,* the bosom friend of Brissot, the famous leader of the Girondine party in the French national assembly, passed some time between Dublin and Belfast, sowing the seeds of future combustion."

* "One of the most able and virtuous founders of the French Republic, and, before the revolution, a Protestant minister at Nismes in Languedoc. He exceeded all his colleagues in the constituent assembly in activity and enthusiasm. He was ridiculed by Burke for his declaration that "*all the ancient establishments were a nuisance; and in respect to the people, we ought, said he, to renew their minds, to change their ideas, their laws, their manners; to change men, things, words; in fine, to destroy everything, that we may create every thing anew.*" The revolutionary tribunal of Paris, acting on the latter suggestion, had him guillotined on the 7th of December, 1793, in the 50th year of his age." —*Biographical Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Republic.*

It is stated in the memoir, that "an offer was about this time sent from the French convention, directed "To the popular leaders in Ireland," that they would deposit in any bank in Europe the pay for 40,000 men for six months, (they being informed such was the number of the Irish volunteers, whose delegates had assembled at the Rotunda,) on the condition that they would declare an absolute independence of England. But this offer, we were convinced, was founded on a supposition that was incorrect as to the opinions of that body, and it was declined."

Though the Dublin volunteers obeyed the command of government, in refraining from any such public exhibition as was prohibited, they did not desist from meetings of a less ostentatious nature. On the 16th of December, 1792, they were summoned to assemble at the house of Pardon, a fencing-master, in Cope-street, and thither they went in uniform, with their side-arms, and entered into resolutions relative to the proclamation. In the middle of the room was a table covered with papers, which Rowan and Napper Tandy were accused of distributing among their volunteer companions. These papers contained the celebrated Address, exhorting the "citizen soldiers" to arms. For the dispersion of this address, which was pronounced to be a "false, wicked, malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel of and concerning the government, state, and constitution of this kingdom," an infor-

mation was filed by his Majesty's attorney-general *ex officio*, against A. H. Rowan, Esq.

About the same time, the solicitor-general, Toler, afterwards Lord Norbury, of punning notoriety, spoke in the house of Commons in terms so offensive of Tandy, that the latter demanded satisfaction for his insulted honor. Toler complained to the house of breach of privilege, and Tandy was ordered into custody. Accordingly he was arrested, but he contrived to escape, and a proclamation was issued, offering a reward for his apprehension.

It appears from the Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, that Mr. Rowan had proposed and Tone agreed always to oppose a bold front to their assailants, and "that if any disrespectful language were applied to either of them in any debate that might arise in the House of Commons, (or elsewhere,) they would attack the person, whoever he might be, immediately, and oblige him either to recant his words or give battle." On the occasion of Tandy's arrest, as they were not sure but they might be attacked, they went to the gallery of the House of Commons, and "took pains to appear in a conspicuous situation in their whig-club uniforms, which were rather gaudy, in order to signify to all whom it might concern, that there they were." Though Tandy found it prudent to abscond, he did not relinquish the wish to call Toler to account. Accordingly he wrote a letter to him, stating that he now stood out against the

proclamation, solely for the purpose of obtaining a personal interview with him, and inclosing the copy of an intended publication, in which he appealed to the tribunal of an impartial public, whether it is consistent with the character of a gentleman or man of honor, to attack another where he has no opportunity of defending himself, and declared such a transaction to be *base and cowardly*.

As in all affairs of honor Rowan was regarded as a chevalier "without fear and without reproach," Tandy sent him the following request:—

"MY DEAR ROWAN,

"This morning I wrote to the solicitor for a personal interview, at any place he should appoint, in any county where the sheriff is confessedly independent, or in Wales, where I confess *I would rather go*. I mentioned likewise that I should await his answer until Sunday next, to be left at 20, Chancery-lane, and then I would meet him in twelve hours after; or go to the Head (Holyhead). I further said, for fear of any mistake, that I had left a note with a friend in Dublin, to be delivered to my son as soon as his answer is left, in order that time and place may be appointed. That friend, my dear Rowan, is yourself, whom I must request to call upon James, and desire him, the moment that the letter is received, to send it to you; you are to open it, and settle every matter. Dowling will tell you where I am to be found, and I shall be ready on a moment's warning. But, if possible, let us go to the Head; that is, provided we can do it safely; for I do not think a man would have any chance in this kingdom, unless in Kildare. You know the Sheriff, and, of course, whether it would be

right or not. In fact, my dear friend, I leave every thing to you. James can furnish us with a case of good pistols.

“ Ever yours,

“ JAMES NAPPER TANDY.

“ Feb. 29, 1792.”

“ Mrs. T. must not know where I am.

“ This moment I hear that you and Tone have been ordered to the bar. If in custody, let James apply to Lord Mountgarret, and request that he will act as my friend. The point of privilege is now out of the question ; it is a dispute between man and man.”

Here, however, he was mistaken. Toler found *satisfaction* behind the buckler of “ privilege ;” and as to Tandy, whether he found any *satisfactiom* in concealment, the muse of history condescendeth not to tell. But before the year had rolled away, Mr. Rowan was invited to a similar entertainment, which actually took place at “ the Head,” between Messrs. Burrowes and Dowling.

A dispute had arisen in the theatre, and Mr. Dowling, in reply to some threat of Mr. Burrowes’, made use of certain offensive expressions, for which the latter demanded, and the former consented to give *satisfaction*. While arrangements were in progress for the meeting, Mr. Burrowes was laid under arrest, and bound to keep the peace. As the securities extended no farther than the county of Dublin, it was thought at first that the affair might

be settled in the county of Kildare ; but it was afterwards agreed that the parties should proceed to Holyhead. Accordingly Mr. Rowan with Dowling went on board the packet, where they remained during the night in such a storm, that neither the mail, nor Mr. Burrowes with his friend Colonel Cradock, could embark till the next day. It was agreed that, to prevent interruption, the hostile meeting should take place as soon as possible after their landing. " On Colonel Cradock's asking me," says Mr. Rowan, " how I thought the meeting should be arranged, I replied, that ' as we had attended Mr. Burrowes' summons, I was certain that any thing proposed by Colonel Cradock would be assented to on the part of Mr. Dowling.' Colonel Cradock said, ' Do you approve of twelve paces as the distance ?' I said, I did entirely. He then asked as to the mode of firing. I answered, that as Mr. B. was the offended person, probably he would demand the first fire ; but on Colonel C.'s proposing that they should fire together, I said I perfectly agreed with him ; that I felt it our duty to do every thing which depended on us to prevent mischief and preserve honour ; and that I hoped this was not a matter of that grave nature of injury which demanded exemplary atonement. It was then agreed that they should fire at the word of command, to be given by one of us, and decided by a toss. Some time after, Colonel C. proposed that Mr. D. should throw a glove or some such thing toward Mr. B. which I objected to, as in case of an

unfortunate issue, this might render the prosecution of Mr. D. more heavy, should he appear to be the person who assaulted. As to prosecutions, however, we agreed not to lend ourselves to either party.

Having landed about midnight, Colonel C. and I walked on beyond the inn, and fixed upon a spot which appeared suitable. We met in the morning in the parlour of the inn, loaded, and proceeded to the ground. Colonel C. hid a guinea; I won the toss, by which I was to give the word; and then observed to him, that as it had been sometimes intimated that the word was given when the friend had levelled, I proposed, if he saw no objection, to turn my back to the parties, and in that position to give the word. Colonel C. assented. We stepped into the field, stuck our respective canes in the ground, placed our friends, gave each of them a pistol, and retiring, I gave the word as I had proposed. We advanced to give the second pistols, when Colonel C. said, ‘As the gentlemen have now behaved with that spirit which marks men of honour, I think Mr. D. can have no objection to make Mr. B. an apology for the very strong expressions he had made use of.’ I answered that if Mr. B. was prepared to apologise for the words which had drawn those strong expressions from Mr. D. I would advise my friend to retract them; otherwise, I would not, however disagreeable it might be to my feelings to prevent an accommodation. Colonel C. then said, ‘I think there is no alternative: they

must go on.' I said, 'I feared so,' and we gave the second pistols to each of the gentlemen; and in retiring, Colonel C. desired leave to give the word. I answered, 'By all means;' which he did with his face averted, and the second pistols were discharged. Then Colonel C., addressing himself to me, said, "Sir, I think it a duty incumbent on us to prevent this matter from going any farther, by withdrawing our friends from the ground." I replied, that 'I was perfectly of his opinion.' Each of us, with his friend, then quitted the ground, without any sort of communication having taken place between the principals during the whole of the transaction."

This duel was followed, in the month of October, by an interview which Mr. Rowan had with the Earl of Clare, then Lord Fitzgibbon, on behalf of the Honorable Simon Butler, of which the Memoir contains the following account:—He and Oliver Bond, an eminent merchant, as chairman and secretary to the United Irish society, had signed a paper, for which they were called before the House of Lords, were voted to have been guilty of a breach of privilege of that House, and were ordered to pay a fine of £500, and to be imprisoned six months in Newgate.

In delivering the sentence of the Lords, Lord Fitzgibbon, addressing Mr. Butler, said that *he* could not plead ignorance, that his noble birth and professional rank at the bar, to both of which he was a *disgrace*, had aggravated his crime. Mr. Butler was not of a temper to bear insult; he de-

terminated to call on Lord Fitzgibbon for an apology as soon as he should be liberated. Mr. Sheares was to be his friend on the occasion ; but he was in the country at that time. The business was such as could not be delayed, and Mr. Butler applied to me, to act in Mr. Sheares' place. In consequence I wrote to his Lordship, requesting an appointment to wait on him on behalf of my friend Mr. Butler, and his Lordship appointed the next day. When I waited on him, I called to his recollection the expressions he had made use of in passing the sentence of the House of Lords on my friends Messrs. Butler and Bond ; and those which he had particularly directed to Mr. Butler, which I hoped to be permitted to say it was not his Lordship's intention should be taken personally, and had been made use of unreflectingly. Lord Fitzgibbon said, that he thought the circumstances of the case called for the expressions he had used, that he never spoke unreflectingly in that situation, and under similar circumstances he would again use similar words. I then said, that in mine and Mr. Butler's opinion the sentence of the Lords did not authorise the words he had made use of, and that if it had occurred between two private gentlemen, my conduct would be plain and easy ; but his Lordship's situation of Chancellor embarrassed me. Here I paused. After some further conversation his Lordship said I knew his situation, and he wished me to recollect it. I then took my leave, saying his Lordship's situation prevented my acting as I must have done

with a private gentleman. Immediately I wrote a note of this conversation, which I gave to Mr. Butler, who thought it necessary for his character to publish it. I requested him to delay the publication until I should have submitted to Lord Fitzgibbon a copy of the report of the conversation with him, and had given him to understand it was Mr. Butler's intention to publish it in the newspapers. Lord Fitzgibbon returned the copy to me the same day, thanking me for the communication, adding, that "it was not for him to advise Mr. Butler." The next morning I received a visit from a very old friend, Colonel Murray, who accosted me with, "So a pretty piece of work you have made, Hamilton, taking a challenge to the Chancellor." "How the deuce do you know that?" "Why to cut the matter short, I breakfasted this morning with Fitzgibbon, and he told me the whole affair." To this old friend I had said, that I regretted my having come to Ireland when I found party ran so high, and I intended, as soon as the present prosecution was over, to return to England; my friend told me that he had repeated this to Lord Fitzgibbon, who, he said, had commissioned him to tell me, that if I would promise to go to England and remain there for a few years, he would issue a *not. pros.* on the present prosecution. To this I readily assented, on condition that it should be issued immediately. My reason for making this stipulation, was, that it had been reported some short time previous (when on my mother's death I had been obliged

to go to England to arrange her property in that country,) that I as well as Napper Tandy had fled from the prosecution commenced against us. This compromise was, however, finally put an end to, by its being required that I should strike my name out of the United Irishmen's society; a measure to which I could not consent.

[From being *second* Mr. Rowan was next to become *principal* in an affair very similar to that of Tandy and Toler³. His well known courage and determination guarded him at home from all such allusions to his conduct as might be construed into an offence; but his name was treated with less respect abroad by some who were strangers to his character. "A correspondence," says he, "had taken place in 1792, between me and Mr. Muir, a Scots advocate, who had taken a very leading part on the subject of reform in that country, and who had been prosecuted by the Lord Advocate under the Scottish leasing act. He had been in France, and on his return home, had called on me in Dublin. The national convention was to assemble shortly in Edinburgh, and our correspondence became more frequent. Though the government seized his papers and person, in their seizure only one letter from me was found and produced on his trial. The Lord Advocate described it as having been written by a most ferocious person, and said it was sealed with the em-

blem of a human heart transfixcd by a spear,* and that the United Irishmen's address was composed by one of those *wretches* who had fled from the justice of their country. The seal was the cap of liberty on a pole supported by two hands, that of the Protestant and Catholic united in the grasp of friendship. Mr. Muir, on his trial,† indignantly repelled the Lord Advocate's assertion. "The gentlemen," said he, "whose names are prefixed to that address, are both in Ireland, and have honored me with their friendship; the first is Dr. Drennan, a physician not more distinguished by his genius

* Among the emblems used in a procession of the French revolutionists was a bull's heart transfixed with iron, bearing this epigraph "*Cœur d'Aristocrate.*" The Lord Advocate may have imagined the seal to be similarly emblematic. At this period the popular discontents in North Britain were not less than in Ireland; and enmity or fear in the peculiar circumstances of the Lord Advocate might naturally lead to such a mistake. The Dundas family had become so exceedingly obnoxious, that Secretary Dundas had been hanged and burned in effigy near St. George's-square in Edinburgh. An infuriated mob had smashed the windows of his son-in-law's (the Lord Advocate's) residence, and were prevented from demolishing it and the house of Mrs. Dundas, the Secretary's mother, only by the musquetry of an armed force. See PLOWDEN's *Short History of the British Empire*, from May, 1792, to the close of the year 1793: Dublin, 1794, pp. 64, 66,

† "Muir's trial took place on the 30th August, 1793. It excited a strong feeling in Scotland, and, as soon as the result was known, the greatest indignation in England. It was then Englishmen began to congratulate themselves that they were not Scots, and that in England a jury was not another name for an instrument of oppression and injustice." TAIT's *Magazine* for January, 1837.

and abilities than by his philanthropy and benevolence ; the other gentleman, A. H. Rowan, Esq. is no less eminent for his excellent qualities ; he, it is true, is indicted to stand a trial, but he has *not fled*." Mr. Rowan, not contented with this justification, wrote to the Lord Advocate, requesting to know if he had used those obnoxious expressions, and had applied them to him. A second letter was written to the same effect, and no answer having been received to either, on the evening of the 31st of October, 1793, Mr. Rowan, accompanied by the Hon. Simon Butler, set out from Dublin, by way of Donaghadee and Portpatrick, to Edinburgh, and, after a most tempestuous passage in a small sloop, with three horses on board, arrived there at one o'clock in the afternoon of November 4th. Immediately after their arrival at the hotel, Mr. Butler addressed a note to the Lord Advocate informing him that he had a letter to deliver to him from A. H. Rowan, Esq. and requesting to know when he might have the honour of waiting on him. On the dispatch of this letter they went to the Tolbooth to visit Mr. Muir, leaving directions with the servant to follow them with the answer. In about half an hour after their arrival at the Tolbooth, Rowan was arrested in Muir's chamber, by a messenger-at-arms, under warrant from the sheriff ; and on leaving the Tolbooth, in order to attend the sheriff at his office, they were met by a servant, who delivered to Mr. Butler a letter from the Lord Advocate, stating that he would be disengaged on the following day at

one o'clock, and ready to receive the promised letter. Mr. Rowan having gone to the sheriff's office, and waited there a considerable length of time, was informed that the examinations were not prepared, and he was required to attend there at seven o'clock in the evening of that day, and in the interim to remain in the custody of the messenger-at-arms, with liberty in other respects of disposing of himself as he might think proper. On the return of Mr. Butler and Mr. Rowan from the sheriff's office to the hotel, a second letter from the Lord Advocate was delivered to Mr. Butler by the waiter, of which the following is a copy :

" George's-square, 4th Nov. Half-past Three.

" SIR,

" I have just now learned that a warrant has been issued against the person who accompanied you. It is necessary for me to state to you, that the information of your or his being here, comes neither directly nor indirectly from me ; and your being in this place, which was all I knew, should have remained perfectly secret and confidential on my part till our meeting to-morrow at one.

" I remain, &c.

" R. DUNDAS."

" The Hon. Simon Butler."

At seven o'clock in the evening of that day, Mr. H. Rowan attended the sheriff at his office, and after undergoing a secret examination of some length, he was discharged from the custody of the messenger-at-arms, upon Colonel Norman

M'Cleod, a member of parliament, and a gentleman of large property and extensive connections, becoming bound in the sum of 3,000 marks scots, about £165 sterling, for his appearance upon summons to answer any charge which might be adduced against him within six months on that subject. To the gentleman who stood his friend on this occasion Mr. Rowan was previously known as a fellow-labourer in the cause of reform. This is apparent from the following letter

“ TO NORMAN M'CLEOD, ESQ.

“ SIR,

“ Having a sincere respect for your public character, and emulating your conduct in attempting to restore the constitution of these kingdoms to its ancient purity, and being assured by Mr. Muir, who honoured me with a visit on his road to Scotland, that such a communication of my sentiments would be received by you as it was meant, I was induced to address a letter to you, which I committed to the care of Mr. Muir. I find, on perusing his trial, that that letter has been seized upon, and I think it my duty to acquaint you with the name of the writer and the contents of the letter. I have further to observe on the seal, that what are called *fleurs de lis* are shamrocks, and that it was engraven some time back as emblematic of the THEN situation of this country ; the Catholic and Protestant hand were supposed to be united in support of the universal emancipation of Irishmen of every religious persuasion.

“ I am, &c.

“ A. H. R.”

“ October, 11, 1793.”

At one o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th of November, 1793, Mr. Butler waited on the Lord Advocate, and after apologizing for having mistaken his Lordship's address, put his hand in his pocket for the letter which he was commissioned to deliver ; but while he was in that act, his Lordship said, that before any letter was delivered, he would inform him that he had some days before written a letter to Mr. H. Rowan, which he presumed had not been received ; and after some mutual explanations, which it would be superfluous to repeat, he gave Mr. Butler the following answer to Mr. Rowan's first letter :—

“ Edinburgh, Nov. 5th, 1793.

“ SIR,

“ I wrote some days ago to you in Dublin a letter* which I presume you have not received, and of which the following is an exact copy :—

“ ‘ I have received your first and second letters, and I have only to inform you that I do not hold myself accountable to you or to any person for any observations which in the course of my official duty I felt it proper for me to make with respect to the publication alluded to by you. I have only to add, that my opinion on this subject remains perfectly the same.

“ ‘ I am, Sir, &c.

“ ‘ R. DUNDAS.’ ”

* That letter arrived in Dublin on the 7th of November.

The Lord Advocate having thus declared that he did not hold himself accountable, and the danger of enforcing a contrary opinion in Edinburgh being obvious, Mr. H. Rowan addressed another letter to the Lord Advocate, of which the following is a copy :—

*“ Dumbreck’s Hotel, Edinburgh,
“ Nov. 5, 1793.*

“ MY LORD,

“ You are right in your presumption that I have not received the letter which you inform me you wrote to me some days ago. My second letter bore date the 18th October, and I left Dublin on the evening of the 31st.

“ I have now received a copy of that letter from you, by the hands of Mr. Butler, which I do not conceive to be any answer to mine ; but the extraordinary circumstances which have attended my arrival in this kingdom prevent my being more explicit.

“ I am, &c.”

In the evening of the 8th November, Mr. Butler and Mr. H. Rowan left Edinburgh on their return to Dublin. “As soon as their arrival in Belfast was known, a select party waited on them, and entertained the favour of their company to dinner next day ; with which request they obligingly complied. Accordingly they, together with Gawin Hamilton, Esq. of Killileagh, were yesterday elegantly entertained at dinner, and the evening spent with that conviviality and heartfelt pleasure which the pa-

triotic and the virtuous alone experience." Mr. Rowan's health was drank in connexion with this sentiment: "May the friends of liberty ever be found virtuous and BRAVE."—*History of Belfast*.

Mr. Rowan was by no means satisfied with the Lord Advocate's defence, and he vented his indignation by writing to him in a style calculated to provoke the fiercest hostility. At the same time he had the following notice published in the London and Edinburgh newspapers:—

"The Lord Advocate of Scotland (R. Dundas) having asserted on the trial of Thomas Muir, that an address from the United Irishmen of Dublin to the Delegates for Reform in Scotland, to which my name was affixed as secretary, 'was penned by infamous wretches, who, like himself, had fled from the punishment that awaited them;' and all explanation having been avoided under the pretext of official duty, I find it now necessary to declare that such assertion of the Lord Advocate is a *falsehood*.

"A. H. ROWAN."

"*Dublin, Dominick-street, Dec. 16, 1793.*"

Mr. Rowan's conduct in the whole of this affair, must tend strongly to convince the reader of his total unconsciousness of being implicated at this time in any transaction, which would soon oblige him to give too much occasion for a repetition of the Lord Advocate's charge. Colonel M'Cleod, it seems, had remonstrated with Rowan on the im-

policy, not to say guilt, of duelling ; and in reply to a note of thanks for his friendship, again recurred to the subject, as will be seen in the following sensible and judicious letter.

“ Edinburgh, Nov. 7, 1793.

“ SIR,

“ I was favoured with your note a few minutes ago, and have since been reading the papers enclosed. Be assured I am happy in having had an opportunity of rendering you the little service you mention, because it was due to you on the principles of liberty and the common rights of hospitality. I am extremely sorry that party spirit runs so high here at present as to overleap the bounds of decency so much as it did in your arrest ; but if I can claim any right to your attention, I beg you to weigh what I took the liberty of saying to you of the idea of appealing to the principles of private honour in public transactions. I am sure you wish to serve the public cause of liberty, and give me leave to repeat that a duel, or challenge to a duel, never will be useful to it in Great Britain. This is my sincere opinion ; and as such I hope you will receive it kindly from,

“ Sir, &c.

“ NORMAN MACLEOD.”

“ I heartily wish you and Mr. Butler a pleasant journey to Dublin.”

“ *A. H. Rowan, Esq.*”

To this letter Mr. Rowan answered that he was sensible of the kindness of the advice ; “ but,” says

he, "as my determination was formed upon reflection, I will steadily adhere to it." A "determination" which speaks more for his courage than for his wisdom and discretion.

During his short sojourn in Scotland he received various marks of polite and friendly attention from William Moffat, Esq. and some others of the most eminent Scottish reformists and "*political martyrs*," as they have been denominated in *Tait's Magazine* for Jan. 1837. These were "Thomas Muir, William Skirving, Thomas Fysche Palmer, Joseph Gerald, and Maurice Margarot." The periodical just mentioned speaks of the page which records their fate as the "blackest in the recent annals of the criminal court of Scotland."

The fate of none of these gentlemen was less merited nor more to be deplored than that of Palmer, the early friend and fellow-student of Rowan. "For the alleged crime of circulating a handbill or address, known to have been written by another person, and in which we can see no harm whoever had written it, he was sentenced to transportation for seven years. Mr. Palmer was an Englishman, and the pastor of a small Unitarian congregation in Dundee, where we have heard that at the same time he seemed rather misplaced. Probably Mr. P. did not feel it so. He was a gentleman and a scholar, refined in mind and polished in manners; but he was also a sincere lover of his race, and a true friend of the people." "After his condemnation, Whitbread, in parlia-

ment, said of him, ‘that he had the honour, (for an honour in the truest sense of the word he deemed it,) to be acquainted with Mr. Palmer;’ and he paid him many high compliments for understanding and virtue. A most romantic circumstance attended the banishment of this innocent man. A member of his church, named Ellis, as soon as he heard this iniquitous sentence pronounced, formed the resolution of sharing Palmer’s exile; and he actually accompanied him to New South Wales and shared with him the period of his banishment.

* * * * When a high motive is presented, the Gothic or the Christian world will never fail of counterparts to the Damon and Pythias of classic ages. Mr. Palmer died of a fever at some of the islands of the Indian seas, upon his way home.”—

TAIT.

Of this excellent man, this “political martyr,” the reader may see an interesting account in the *Belfast Magazine* for December, 1812. On the envelope of one of his letters to Mr. Rowan, the latter has inscribed the following testimony to his worth:—“We were fellow-collegians at Queen’s College, and never was there a more regular, studious, and every way good man.—A. H. R.”

The subjoined letter from his friend and correspondent, John Venner, counsellor at law, was addressed to Mr. Rowan, while he was in Scotland:—

“ London, Nov. 4th, 1793.

“ DEAR HAMILTON,

“ This is at least the tenth letter which I have begun to write, and have not had the courage to send you. I ran too much into politics.

“ Although therefore you have not heard from me, you have seldom been out of my thoughts ; which is indeed not to be wondered at, when the very polite behaviour I experienced from you is so fresh in my memory ; by-the-bye, this is not above half the acknowledgment I should make ; for you so joined the *utile* with the *dulce*, that I know not whether I was most benefited or delighted.

“ You are a perfect Quixote in politics, or you would not have ventured into Scotland.

“ For promptitude in trial and determination in punishment, I will back the convention with an aristocrat, and the court of sessions with a democrat, against all the courts which ever were, are, or shall be.

“ The ‘ *stet pro ratione voluntas* ’ is carried to a tolerable pitch. I shall put this letter into the fire, not into the post, for I am certain it will be opened.

“ I have taken it into my head that Mr. Muir’s sentence is not correct—I mean legally so ; for every body knows it is not morally so ! The municipal law of Scotland by the act of union is to remain unaltered.

“ Scotland could never transport, for she never had any colonial dominion. Besides, she follows the civil law, and the sentence is banishing from, not transporting to ! Now the sentence of the English law of transportation ‘ to such place as his Majesty, with the advice of his privy council, shall direct,’ is passed by virtue of a very late act of Parliament, and cannot reach Scotland.

Upon what ground, therefore, the sentence stands I cannot make out. Yet I have no doubt but that I am wrong ; for it is absurd to suppose so many lawyers (Mr. Muir himself being one likewise,) should not have mentioned it on the trial. My dear Hamilton, I had purposed not to have written a word of politics, and my letter has nothing else. Let me have the pleasure of hearing from you. Mrs. Venner and myself beg our best respects to Mrs. Hamilton, though unknown to us. We hope all your young ones are in perfect health. As to yourself, we should hear of it, if you were otherwise.

“ Adieu.

“ JOHN VENNER.”

EDITOR.]

CHAPTER VIII.

Warrant from Judge Downes—Gives bail—Employs Curran for his defence—Two informations against him—Attends the King's Bench—Trial deferred—Suspicion of a packed jury—Soldiers sent to his house as spies—Attempt to bribe Corbally to give false witness—Brought to trial—Curran's celebrated speech—Found guilty, fined, and imprisoned—Request to the Attorney-General—Anecdote of Kirwan the philosopher—Rowan's situation in prison—Consolatory addresses—Conversation between Lord Clonmel and Byrne the printer.

IN 1792, I had been arrested by a warrant from Judge Downes, on a charge of distributing a seditious paper, and crediting his Lordship's assurance that the examinations upon which the warrant was granted should be returned to the clerk of the crown, to be laid by him before the next term grand jury, I followed the advice of my law friends, and instead of going to gaol, in pursuance of my own opinion, I gave bail for my appearance in the King's Bench, to answer such charges as should be there made against me. I had at first declared my wish to employ no other counsel to defend me than those who belonged to the society of United Irishmen; but Messrs. Emmett and Butler both declined the task, as they said it might look like arrogance in junior counsellors, to conduct so great

a cause as that which would probably ensue. The known unbending patriotism of Mr. Fletcher, who (though afterwards raised to the bench,) always declared the necessity of the registry reform, pointed him out to me as one under whose guidance I should wish to place myself; but this suggestion was again over-ruled by the entreaty of Mrs. Hamilton Rowan and of almost all my friends, that I should employ Mr. Curran. His high character, which never deserted him as a friend to the people, occasioned my asking whether he would employ his talent rather in defence of the paper for the distribution of which I was prosecuted, than on any minor object. Having answered in the affirmative, he became my leading counsel.

During the succeeding Hilary term I daily attended in the King's Bench. On the last day of that term, finding that no examinations had been laid before the grand jury against me, counsel on my behalf moved that the examinations should be returned forthwith, particularly as Mr. Attorney General had in the course of the term filed two informations *ex officio* against me, the one for the same alleged offence of distributing a seditious paper, and the other for a seditious conspiracy. Mr. Justice Downes, who was then on the bench, asserted that he had on the first day of term returned the examinations to the clerk of the crown, who said, that from the multiplicity of examinations returned to him on the first day of term, he had not time to look at them, and re-

quested the court would make no order. My hopes of a speedy trial were therefore at an end.

My mother shortly afterwards died, and I was obliged to go to England on private business, which required me to stay there some time. During my absence from Ireland, every runner in office, supported by the newspapers in the pay of government, connected the name of Hamilton Rowan with that of Napper Tandy, and proclaimed both as *dishonoured fugitives from justice*.

A few days before the Easter term, I returned to Ireland, and daily attended the King's Bench, until the term was nearly spent; and finding that no bills were sent up by the grand jury against me, counsel on my behalf moved the court that the recognizance entered into by me, and my bail, should be vacated; at the same time publicly declaring that if the motion was not agreed to, I was then in court for the purpose of surrendering myself in discharge of my bail. The recognizance was vacated accordingly. The above mentioned examinations having also charged Mr. Tandy with a similar offence, his recognizance was estreated, and a green wax process ordered against his bail. Had I been absent, my recognizance also would have been estreated; but on my having appeared and declared my readiness to meet the charge, the government filed fresh informations, *ex officio*, and refused to proceed upon the former examinations, and denied to me all knowledge of the person by whom they were sworn.

A motion on my behalf was then made to fix certain days for the trial of the information *ex officio* against me ; the Attorney-General agreed to the appointment of two days in the ensuing Trinity term, viz. the 3d and 7th days of May. In the Easter vacation, the Attorney-General served on me a notice that he would not proceed to trial on the days appointed, and would apply to the court to appoint other days, grounded on an affidavit to be filed, of which notice would be given. Nothing further was done upon this notice ; no affidavit was filed, or motion made therein ; and the process necessary for the empanneling of juries on the days appointed having been (after being issued) kept by Mr. Kemmis, the crown solicitor, instead of being delivered to the sheriff, a notice was made on my behalf that the necessary process should be forthwith delivered to the proper officer, in order that the trials might be had on the days appointed. My motion was opposed by a phalanx of crown lawyers, headed by the Attorney-General, who declared that there was no error in the information for distributing a seditious paper. I now offered to agree to an immediate amendment of the information, or that a fresh one should be filed and pleaded to *instantly*, or that I would release all errors. All these offers were severally refused, as the object of Government seemed to be to gain time ; and my friends strongly suspected that the motive for postponing the trial was the expectation of packed juries, through the means of the sheriffs for the ensuing

year, Jenkins and Gifford, both notoriously under the influence, and even in the pay of the government.

I must further take notice of some underhand transactions against me. When the idea of renewing the volunteer system was embraced by several of its zealous friends, certain persons calling themselves soldiers, came to my house with offers of their assistance, but appearing to be sent as spies upon my conduct and expressions, I declined to see them, or have any concern with them. One of the name of Corbally came to my house, and proposed to teach my men-servants how to make up artillery amunition. This offer having been declined, there was an attempt to bribe this man to lodge examinations of some sort against me ; and he having resisted, it was thought that something might be forced from him by fear. Accordingly he was apprehended on a warrant of high treason, and was told by the person who took him, that he had but one way to save his life, which was to swear against me. He was kept in gaol five months under this charge ; and while in confinement, they attempted to cajole him into the king's service. When by law he became entitled to be discharged, or have proceedings preferred against him, the charge of high treason was withdrawn, and an indictment found against him for a misdemeanor, to which he gave bail, and thereupon obtained his liberty. One Maguire, a defender, was confined with Corbally, to whom I understood

similar proposals were made, and the following circumstance warrants the belief. Corbally lodged examinations against Mr. Justice Graham for an attempt to make him perjure himself. Mr. Justice Graham immediately went to the gaol, saw Maguire, and accepted his bail, which he had refused the day but one before, and neither he nor his bail has since been heard of. Graham stood his trial, and was acquitted; and prosecuted Corbally, who was tried and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. At the time the attempt was made to bribe Corbally, the Speaker of the House of Commons asserted in company that Mr. Hamilton Rowan did not know the risk he ran, for they had evidence against him which would touch his life. And a noted partizan of administration said in the Four Courts, that a discovery was made that a gentleman and a man of some property had distributed money among the defenders. This was also the charge against Napper Tandy.

[The trial was waited for with intense interest by all Ireland, and more particularly by the numerous classes of Rowan's friends and associates; he was the hero of the day, and his cause was regarded as involving that of many others who might be found in a similar situation. If a few were eager to see him punished as an agitator, the great majority hailed him as a patriot, who had boldly come forth to restore the constitution and assert the liberties of his country. He had, on various occa-

sions, shewn himself the decided friend of the humbler orders, and his exertions in their service were remembered to his honour. He was the popular tribune, the Gracchus who dared to vindicate their rights against the insolence and oppression of the proud and vindictive patricians. The interest felt in his behalf was evinced by the multitudes which overflowed the courts, insomuch that a military guard was found necessary to preserve the peace, and prevent the outburstings of popular indignation.]

At length, continues the Memoir, I was brought to trial, Mr. Gifford being the acting sheriff for the current six months. On striking the jury, I objected to two of them, and offered to bring proof that they had declared "*Ireland would never be quiet until Hamilton Rowan and Napper Tandy were hanged.*" But this challenge was not allowed by the Bench.

[On this trial Mr. Curran pronounced a speech which will for ever associate his name with that of Rowan. So splendid an exhibition of eloquence had never before been witnessed in an Irish, nor perhaps in any other, court of law. While it dazzled and electrified by its brilliant corruscations, it drew forth reiterated applauses, which no power of self-control or respect for the Bench found it possible to suppress; but it produced no conviction on the mind of the jury. That eloquence should sometimes fail to produce its intended effect even

upon twelve honest men, is a circumstance, abstractedly considered, less to be deplored than approved. Right is based not on words but on facts; and should that eloquence which can make "the worse appear the better reason" prevail over the unvarnished simplicity of truth, justice would have often to lament her despised and violated claims. The speech may be found at length in the trial published by Mr. Rowan, and in the volume of the celebrated counsellor's speeches. Though it is known to every reader of Irish history, it cannot be irrelevant to present the reader with one or two specimens of its style; and here the editor fortunately finds the same task executed with such taste and discrimination in "CURRAN'S LIFE, by his SON," that he has only to make a transcript from a few pages of that interesting publication:—

The opening of it has some striking points of resemblance to the exordium of Cicero's defence of Milo. If an imitation was intended by the Irish Advocate, it was naturally suggested by the coincidence of the leading topics in the two cases, the public interest excited, the unusual military array in the court, the great popularity of the client, and the factious clamours which prepared the trial. * * * When he came to that part of the publication under trial, which proposed complete emancipation to persons of every religious persuasion, he expressed himself as follows:—

" ' Do you think it wise or humane, at this moment, to insult them (the Catholics) by sticking up in the pillory the man who dared to stand forth as their Advocate ? I

put it to your oaths ; do you think that a blessing of that kind, that a victory obtained by justice over bigotry and oppression, should have a stigma cast upon it by an ignominious sentence upon men bold and honest enough to propose that measure ? to propose the redeeming of religion from the abuses of the church, the reclaiming of three millions of men from bondage, and giving liberty to all who had a right to demand it ? Giving, I say, in the so much censured words of this paper, giving ‘ UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION ! ’ I speak in the spirit of British law, which makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from British soil—which proclaims even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced—no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him—no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down—no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery—the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust ; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty, his body swells beyond the measure of his chains that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by their resistable genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.’

The concluding passage of this speech, of which the preceding extract is inserted merely as an example of its style, contains one of those fine scriptural allusions, of which Mr. Curran made such frequent and successful use :—

“ ‘ I will not relinquish the confidence that this day will

be the period of his sufferings ; and however mercilessly he has been hitherto pursued, that your verdict will send him home to the arms of his family and the wishes of his country. But if (which Heaven forbid) it hath still been unfortunately determined, that, because he has not bent to power and authority, because he would not bow down before the golden calf and worship it, he is to be bound and cast into the furnace ; I do trust in God, that there is a redeeming spirit in the constitution which will be seen to walk with the sufferer through the flame, and to preserve him unhurt by the conflagration.'

If the expression of excited emotions by the auditors be the test of eloquence, this was the most eloquent of Mr. Cnrran's forensic productions. To applaud in a court of justice is at all times irregular, and was then very rare ; but both during the delivery, and after the conclusion of this speech, the by-standers could not refrain from testifying their admiration by loud and repeated bursts of applause. When the advocate retired from the court, they took the horses from his carriage, which they drew to his own house ; yet notwithstanding this public homage to his talents, the most grateful reward to his exertions was wanting : the jury, of whose purity very general suspicions were entertained, found a verdict against his client.

These quotations might suffice ; yet it cannot be superfluous to add the learned advocate's graphic description of Rowan's character and conduct, when addressing the jury in his behalf :—

“ Gentlemen, let me suggest another observation or two, if still you have any doubt as to the guilt or inno-

cence of the defendant. Give me leave to suggest to you what circumstances you ought to consider, in order to found your verdict : you should consider the character of the person accused ; and in this your task is easy. I will venture to say there is not a man in this nation more known than the gentleman who is the subject of this prosecution, not only by the part he has taken in public concerns, and which he has taken in common with many, but still more so by that extraordinary sympathy for human affliction which, I am sorry to think, he shares with so small a number. There is not a day that you hear the cries of your starving manufacturers in your streets, that you do not also see the advocate of their sufferings—that you do not see his honest and manly figure, with uncovered head, soliciting for their relief ; searching the frozen heart of charity for every string that can be touched by compassion, and urging the force of every argument and every motive, save that which his modesty suppresses—the authority of his own generous example. Or if you see him not there, you may trace his steps to the abode of disease, and famine, and despair, the messenger of heaven, bearing with him food, and medicine, and consolation. Are these the materials of which we suppose anarchy and public rapine to be formed ? Is this the man on whom to fasten the abominable charge of goading on a frantic populace to mutiny and bloodshed ? Is this the man likely to apostatize from every principle that can bind him to the state—his birth, his property, his education, his character, and his children ? Let me tell you, gentlemen of the jury, if you agree with his prosecutors in thinking there ought to be a sacrifice of such a man on such an occasion, and upon the credit of such evidence, you are to convict him,—never did you, never

can you give a sentence consigning any man to public punishment with less danger to his person or to his fame : for where could the hireling be found, to fling contumely or ingratitude at his head, whose private distresses he had not laboured to alleviate, or whose public condition he had not laboured to improve ?”

Though the defence was most ably conducted, the jury, in the course of ten minutes, brought in a verdict of *guilty*. When it was announced, Lord Clonmel asked counsel for the defendant, if they “desired four days time to move an arrest of judgment.” This was declined. But Lord Clonmel, after conferring with the other judges, said, “We will not pronounce judgment till four days.” Mr. Rowan was then ordered into custody of the sheriff, “and was conveyed to the New Prison, attended by both the sheriffs and a formidable array of horse and foot guards.”*

Notwithstanding an arrest of judgment was in the first instance declined, the Recorder, one of Mr. Rowan’s counsel, on the ensuing Monday moved the court to set aside the verdict, and grant a new trial, pursuant to a notice served on the At-

* *Report of the Trial*, p. 87. “When the verdict was first brought in, there was a loud clap of approbation commenced in the outer hall, it is presumed, from a misconception that the jury had acquitted the defendant; for when the verdict was repeated, and the word *guilty* sufficiently stressed, the clap was changed into hootings, and hissings, and groans, that lasted with little remission during the remainder of the sitting of the court.”

torney-general, and grounded on certain affidavits impeaching the truth of the principal witness, and accusing certain members of the jury of being unfairly prejudiced. The cause was argued at considerable length, and a new trial being found inadmissible, Mr. Justice Boyd proceeded to declare the sentence of the court. He animadverted in strong terms on the dangerous tendency of the libel for which Rowan was prosecuted, and particularly on its call upon the people to arm. "All," said he, "are summoned to arms, to introduce a wild system of anarchy, such as now involves France in the horrors of civil war, and deluges the country with blood. It is happy for you and those who were to have been your instruments, that they did not obey you. It is happy for you that this insidious summons to arms was not observed; if it had, and the people with force of arms had attempted to make alterations in the constitution of this country, every man concerned would have been guilty of high treason."

Before sentence was pronounced, Mr. Rowan, at his own request, was permitted to speak; and accordingly he addressed the court in language at once courteous and dignified. He gratefully acknowledged the indulgence of his judges, and proceeded to make some strictures on the evidence, the jury, and the sheriff. He observed that in some parts of the evidence, the court and the prosecutor seemed to be mistaken, and that had some of his friends, volunteers, who were present at the meet-

ing, been summoned to give their testimony, the charge exhibited against him by Lyster would have fallen to the ground.* As to the jury, he admitted that some of them were very honourable men, yet much prejudiced, and his avowed enemies. He acknowledged his wish, and his attempt, to revive the volunteers, for they had done honour to the nation. As to the sheriff, in the capacity of editor to a newspaper he had been his constant calumniator; and now in the office of sheriff, he had empannelled a jury, by some of whom he (Rowan) had been prejudged. He avows himself to be a United Irishman, and glories in the name. He justifies the terms UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION and REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATURE, in opposition to a meaning imputed to them by the counsel for the prosecution. "I did imagine," says he, "that the British constitution was a representative legislature; that the people were represented by the House of Commons; that the Lords represented the territory, the property; and that the King represented the power of the state, the united force, the power of the whole placed in his hands for the benefit of the whole. As a person, as a man, I know nothing of

* The Editor has been assured by an authority which he cannot question, that Mr. Rowan was not the person who distributed the libelous paper in Pardon's room, though in other places he was known to have distributed it without reserve; but on that occasion Willis the skinner, his lieutenant in the volunteers, was the distributor; and being a tall, able man, was taken for Rowan by Lyster the principal witness, a man of no honor or integrity.

the king ; I can know nothing of him except as wielding the force of the nation ; and if ever that force should be misapplied and abused, it then remains for the people to decide in what hands it ought to be placed.”*

In conclusion he says—“ I really feel myself in an awkward situation, thus declaring my sentiments, seeing intentions different from those both of the author and myself are fixed upon that paper, for the distribution of which I am persecuted. From my situation, however, having an independent fortune, easy in my circumstances, and with a large family, insurrection of any sort would surely be the last thing I could wish for. I ask no favour, but I submit myself to the clemency and justice of the court, and trust that whatever may be their sentence, I shall bear it with becoming fortitude.”

After some observations from Lord Clonmel, judgment was pronounced, as is the practice in Westminster Hall, by the second judge of the court, Mr. Justice Boyd :—“ The sentence of the court is—that you, ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN, do pay to his Majesty a sum of five hundred pounds, and be imprisoned for two years, to be computed from the 29th of January, 1794, and until that fine be paid ; and to find security for your good behaviour for seven years—yourself in

* These sentiments are corroborated in the report of the trial, by quotations from LOCKE *on Government*, sects. 151, 158, 226, and from BLACKSTONE, *Public Wrongs*, b. 4, c. 33, s. 5.

the sum of two thousand pounds, and two sureties of one thousand pounds each."

Had it been at Mr. Rowan's option where to pass the time of his confinement, he would have preferred Naas to Dublin, probably on account of its being nearer to his country residence of Rath-coffey. Accordingly he thus made his wishes known

" TO THE RIGHT HON. ARTHUR WOLFE, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

" Mr. Hamilton Rowan is induced, from the very polite manner in which the Attorney-General did him the honour of addressing him in court this day, to request that he may be imprisoned in the jail of Naas instead of that of Newgate, if such a favour can be granted.

" *February 7th, 1794.*

" *New Prison.*"

ANSWER FROM THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

" The Attorney-General presents his compliments to Mr. Hamilton Rowan ; begs leave to assure him that the moment sentence was pronounced, the Attorney-General ceased to have any authority in the matter. To vary or mitigate that sentence belongs solely to the Lord Lieutenant, and it is only from his Excellency the indulgence which Mr. Rowan desires can be obtained. The Attorney-General was very sincere when he yesterday informed Mr. Rowan that if he had any just cause of complaint against any person in whose custody he is, that he would use his utmost endeavours to give it immediate redress.

" *Leinster-street, February 8th, 1794.*"

The following anecdote has been kindly communicated by one who was an intimate friend of Mr. Rowan's :—

The verdict of guilty having been confidently anticipated by some of the more zealous adherents of government in high quarters, they betrayed a great anxiety that the punishment should be as exemplary as possible ; and accordingly spoke of the *pillory*. “ This,” says my author, “ came to the ears of my excellent friend, the venerated Mr. Kirwan, the philosopher and chemist, in political principle a high conservative aristocrat, and influenced in all his conduct by sentiments of honour and benevolence. Having the *entré* at the Castle, he went to the secretary, and asked if it were possible that such a punishment was in contemplation for Rowan : and without waiting for a reply, continued—‘ I cannot believe it. What ! shew such a vindictive spirit as to make the pillory a punishment for a political offence ! Shame ! The pillory is a punishment for disgraceful crimes. Rebellion may be a crime, but not a disgrace ; nay more, if successful it becomes a virtue. Should you put Rowan into the pillory, you would revolt the entire order of gentlemen in Europe. I know it is improper to hold out a threat to government ; but let me assure you, the people of Dublin will not allow this ; and weak as I am, I will draw my *sword* (so he pronounced it,) and head a mob, and break your pillory to atoms ; and let the blood which may be shed be charged to the vindictive spirit of

those who proposed so infamous a proceeding.' The secretary, not offended with the philosopher's generous effervescence, assured him that though certain persons had hinted at the punishment to which he alluded, it was never for one moment intended by government ; and that for his own part, he would also draw his sword to oppose a measure so insulting."]

The Memoir, after stating the result of the trial, says :—

The crowds round the court-house were so irritated, that for fear of mischief, I stole out of court by a back door, accompanied by Sheriff Jenkins, and was by him lodged in prison immediately on the sentence being pronounced. My situation in gaol was not to be complained of, though I had indeed a small room, and some of the conveniencies particularly necessary in every habitation were most execrable. During the day visitors were admitted ; my dinner was brought from my own house, and Mrs. H. Rowan and two of my children constantly accompanied it, except on Sunday, when I usually invited some of my fellow-prisoners, who were of the better order, to share it with me.

[In anticipation of his sentence, Rowan had expressed in what mode he wished to be treated in prison. " My desire," says he, " is to be free from all visits, except from such of my immediate

family as choose to come to me, and my lawyers ; and I shall esteem any inquiries concerning me being made in Dominick-street, as compliments which I shall not forget. I do insist, and that in the most peremptory tone, that no expence whatever be incurred on my account by any society, or body of men, or individual. I desire to be served from my own house with sufficient to eat, and something for others under the same roof, who may be more hungry, and have less means. I will not have any wine. I hear the water is bad ; let me have Bristol water and good beer at my meals. * * Let all who persecute, dread the force of truth and virtue, the parents of liberty.”]

During this time I received several condoling addresses on my imprisonment, and letters stating the infamous characters of those on whose evidence I had been convicted.

[If aught could have consoled Rowan for the loss of his personal freedom, and the “durance vile” of a gaol, it was the deep and universal sympathy of his friends. They thought his sentence severe ; and were persuaded that the witnesses had been suborned. These circumstances added to his popularity : and addresses of condolence poured in upon him from all quarters, from public societies, and private individuals, at home and abroad. A collection of these would fill a volume ; but it may suffice to present the reader with that of the United Irishmen, and that of the working manufacturers, with the reply to each.

THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN TO
A. H. ROWAN, ESQ.

“ February 7th, 1794.

“ We offer you our congratulations, the only testimonial of our regard which could be acceptable to you. We disdain to address a mind like yours in the language of pity and condolence. Although torn from what constituted the chief felicity of your being, the society of an amiable exemplary wife, and the superintendence of a numerous and promising offspring, you are plunged into a loathsome prison, yet the rectitude of your cause, the firmness of your principles, the unbending energy of your mind, the ardent affection of your grateful countrymen, to the assertion of whose liberties you have devoted yourself, will cheer and sustain you through the progress of a tedious imprisonment.

“ When we call to recollection the illustrious dead who stood forward the champions and victims of their country's cause ; when we think of Hampden, of Russell, and of Sydney, who have sealed their principles with their blood ! all inferior feelings subside, and we forget the severity of your sufferings in their glory.

“ Although corruption has been leagued with falsehood, to misrepresent and vilify this Society, we have reposed in honest confidence on the consoling reflection, that we should at all times find an impregnable barrier in the *trial by jury*, wherein character and intention should be regarded as unerring guides to justice. But while we have been earnestly endeavouring to establish the constitutional rights of our country, we suddenly find ourselves at a loss *for this first and last stake of a free people ;* for the trial by jury loses its whole value when the sheriff or the

pannel is under the influence of interest, prejudice, or delusion; and that battery which liberty and wisdom had united to construct for the security of the people, is turned against them. However, in defiance of that system of proscription which is no longer confined to a particular persuasion, but which visits with vengeance every effort in the cause of freedom, we trust you are assured of our inflexible determination to pursue the great object of our association—*an equal and impartial representation of the people in parliament*—an object from which no chance or change, no slander, no persecution, no oppression shall deter us.”

REPLY.

“ *Newgate, February 8th, 1794.*

“ UNITED IRISHMEN,

“ You have greatly overrated both my merits and my sufferings. My merits, as a citizen, consist in an honest and resolute attachment in principle and in practice to that bond of our society, an equal representation of the people in parliament, which I conceive to be the essence of the British constitution, and which I esteem to be of absolute necessity for the peace and liberty of Ireland.

“ Do not tarnish the memory of the illustrious dead by hasty comparisons with the living. If my sufferings, slight as they are in comparison with past and present examples, shall in any way contribute to our common object, I shall deem myself both honoured and rewarded.

“ A. H. ROWAN.”

“ *Fais ce que doy, arrive que pourra.*”

ADDRESS OF THE WORKING MANUFACTURERS.

“ We, as part of the community, whose distresses for want of employment found a way to your philanthropic breast, have beheld with the pride of honest hearts your exertions in our cause, and that of our suffering brethren now unemployed. We sympathise as men, when we are told that you are sentenced to two years’ imprisonment; yet look round with satisfaction, when we hear the universal regret expressed by all ranks of society at your confinement.

“ Permit us, Sir, to give this only return now in our power, for your attention to our famishing fellow-tradesmen; and to assure you that no period of our lives can to us be more grateful than that when you will return to your family, your country, and your numerous friends. In our humble situation of life, we think nothing more dear to man than liberty, and we are proud to say, that to none will we yield in gratitude.”

REPLY.

“ When the Almighty permitted the natural equality of man to be broken down into ranks and orders in society, he at once granted it as a favour, and imposed it as a duty upon those who possess untoiled-for affluence, to devote from their abundance a portion to the relief of the wants and miseries of their less favoured fellow-creatures. My endeavours to discharge that duty are over-rated by your partiality, and over-paid by the approbation you express. I can assure you in return, that it is not the circumstance in my confinement which least affects me, that I am thereby, for the present, debarred of the gratifica-

tion I have felt, in contributing my limited services to relieve the necessities, and alleviate the distresses of so useful, so numerous a body, as the working manufacturers of this country."

" Newgate, 28th February, 1794."

Among many friendly letters which he received while in prison, there is one from Wogan Browne, Esq. then resident at Bath, expressed in terms of the warmest affection and condolence. He declares that he would be proud and gratified to become his bondsman, if some more intimate friend did not merit such an honour; and offers to come at a moment's warning and take a house in Dublin, if he and his family could in any manner contribute to alleviate Mrs. Rowan's distress.

"During the time of anxious suspense," says he, "which has intervened between the news of your trial and the event of those measures which it was evident in justice to yourself you must pursue, in order to have the verdict laid aside, I could not take up the pen to write to you, though I have often attempted it. I did not know of any consolation to offer, but the intimate sense you had of acting from good motives, and *that* it was useless for me to bring to your recollection. I did not know to what extent the ministers of the law could inflict punishment, so various were the opinions of those I heard upon the subject; and I really experienced more tormenting doubt than I can well express, seeing by daily experience how much, under our glorious constitution, is left to the discretion of men who universally use their power with

great indiscretion. I now thank God we know the worst, and must deem that punishment discreet, mild, and humane, which is exactly the same which Lord George experienced, after having set fire to the four corners of London, and invited nine millions of people in this country to murder their brethren, the Catholics, who might have been in number one-half million ! But I will not expatiate on this odious topic. I know your fortitude ; I know you would have suffered more than has been inflicted without repining ; but it is Mrs. Rowan whom I feel for. * * * I am certain that I need not recommend very particular care of your health to you, connected with so many objects whose happiness you constitute, and whom that neglect would cause to despair ; let me, however, entreat you to use some substitute for that exercise you cannot take. I am not in the least afraid of your mind ; I think I sufficiently well know the temper of it, to be certain that disappointment will not sour it, nor solitude deprive it of its excellent social qualities. Recollection will strengthen, if it were necessary, your fondness for liberty ; but I presume reflection may convince you, that till our common country has a more acute sense of the ignominy with which it is treated, no exertion of an honest individual can be very beneficial to it, however it may recoil upon himself."

Mr. Rowan must have been highly gratified by such numerous and sincere proofs of friendship ; but assuredly nothing could be so soothing and delightful to his feelings, as the unwearied affectionate attentions of his beloved wife. Well could he appreciate the devotedness of her attachment, and the cheerfulness with which she strove to alleviate their

common misfortune. He speaks of her in terms of the tenderest endearment, and affirms that her good sense and strength of mind deserve the highest encomiums.

Having procured an accurate report of the trial, he printed it at his own expense, and published it at such a price, and for such a benevolent object as he justly thought would secure its pre-eminence over every other. He intended to appropriate whatever profits might accrue from the sale, to the benefit of the distressed manufacturers. It contains 152 pages octavo, closely printed in a small type. P. Byrne, of Grafton-street, was the printer and publisher, of whom the Memoir gives the following anecdote :—]

I had not been long imprisoned when the following conversation took place between Lord Clonmel and Mr. Byrne, printer, on his advertising my trial for publication in 1793. I should remark, that he gave me the conversation in his own handwriting :—

Lord Clonmel. “ Your servant, Mr. Byrne ; I perceive you have advertised Mr. Rowan’s trial.”

Byrne. “ The advertisement, my Lord, is Mr. Rowan’s ; he has selected me as his publisher, which I think an honour, and I hope it will be profitable.”

Lord Clonmel. “ Take care, Sir, what you do ; I give you this caution ; for if there are any re-

flections on the judges of the land, by the eternal G— I will lay you by the heels !”

Byrne. “ I have many thanks to return your Lordship for your caution ; I have many opportunities of going to Newgate, but I have never been ambitious of that honour, and I hope in this case to stand in the same way. Your Lordship knows I have but one principle in trade, which is to make money of it, and that if there were two publications giving different features to the trial I would publish both. There is a trial published by M’Kenzie.”

Lord Clonmel. “ I did not know that ; but say what you may on the subject, if you print or publish what may inflame the mob, it behoves the judges of the land to notice it ; and I tell you, by the eternal G—, if you publish or mis-state my expressions, I will lay you by the heels ! One of Mr. Rowan’s advocates set out with an inflammatory speech, mis-stating what I said, and stating what I did not say. I immediately denied it, and appealed to the court and the gentlemen in it, and they all contradicted him, as well as myself. These speeches were made for the mob, to mislead and inflame them, which I feel my duty to curb. If the publication is intended to abuse me, I don’t value it ; I have been so long in the habit of receiving abuse, that it will avail little ; but I caution you how you publish it ; for if I find any thing reflecting on or mis-stating me, I will take care of you.”

Byrne. “ I should hope Mr. Rowan has too

much honour to have any thing mis-stated or inserted in his trial that would involve his publisher."

Lord Clonmel. "What! is Mr. Rowan preparing his own trial?"

Byrne. "He is, my Lord."

Lord Clonmel. "Oho! oho! that is a different thing. That gentleman would not have been better used by me, standing in the situation he did, if he was one of the princes of the blood."

Byrne. "My Lord, Mr. Rowan being his own printer, you know he will publish his own trial; I stand only as his publisher."

Lord Clonmel. "Even as his publisher, I will take care of you; and I have no objection to this being known."

Byrne. "I return your Lordship many thanks."

CHAPTER IX.

Jackson, an envoy from France—Cockaine the spy—Rowan copies Tone's statement of the situation of Ireland—Cockaine puts it into the post-office—his pretended examination before the Privy Council—Rowan visited by Emmet, Tone, and Dowling—Plans his escape from prison—succeeds—Kindly received by Mr. Sweetman—Proclamation and reward for his apprehension—Sails from Sutton—Narrow escape from an English fleet—Lands on the coast of France—Treated as an English spy—Sent under guard to Brest—Lodged with galley-slaves—Maltreated for his humanity to a priest—Receives consolation from a religious book—Treated kindly by some French naval officers—Cause of their imprisonment—Erroneous account of the action between the British and French fleets on the 1st of June—Jean Bon St. Andre—Mr. Delahoyde—Becomes known to Mr. Sullivan—Liberated from confinement—Accompanies Sullivan to Paris.

I had been nearly three months in prison when a clergyman was introduced to me, of the name of Jackson, who had arrived lately as an envoy from the French government; he was accompanied by one Cockaine, a solicitor, of the society of Thaives Inns, London, whom he introduced as his friend. Jackson's instructions from the Committee of *Salut Publique*, were to present himself to the Irish patriots, and to promise, if the people of Ireland were inclined to reform the abuses of their government by a declaration of independence, that the French

government would assist them in any way they might prefer ; and would desire no farther interference.* It was also proposed that some well informed and trusty person should immediately proceed to France, to arrange the plan of proceeding. Our eyes were immediately turned to Mr. Tone ; but some private affairs obliged him to decline the proposal. It was then suggested that Mr. Jackson should be furnished with a correct account of the state of Ireland, which he assured us he had a safe mode of sending by a private hand to the French authorities.

It may be well to say who this Mr. Jackson was : he was a minister of the church of England, who had been employed by the Duchess of Kingston, in writing for her against Mr. Foote, who had satirised her in some of his farces. In this transaction he became acquainted with Cockaine, her attorney, from whom he had at different times borrowed some money. To this person, on his arrival in London, he addressed himself, stating the business in which he was engaged, and his prospects of being shortly able to pay his debt, and enrich himself. Cockaine waited on Mr. Pitt, and having informed him of Jackson's embassy, it was

* By a decree of the 19th November, 1792, the French Convention declares, " au nom de la Nation Françoise, qu'elle accordera fraternité et secours a tous les peuples qui voudront recouvrer leur liberté."—*Dr. Moore's Journal*, Dublin, vol. 2, p. 277. " Such a decree," says Carlyle, " as no living fetter of despotism, nor person in authority can any where approve of."

agreed that he should accompany him to Ireland ; and this project he put into execution, by pretending that he was concerned in a suit in Ireland, and would take Jackson as his clerk. Mr. Pitt, however, put them both under the care of a king's messenger, who accompanied them in the same packet to Dublin. Under his assumed character Cockaine was introduced to me in Newgate, and as Jackson said he was personally concerned as an English reformer, he was frequently in the society of many of my friends.

Mr. Tone drew up a statement of the situation of Ireland and gave it to me ; I made two copies, and returned the original to Mr. Tone.* One of these copies was given to Jackson to convey to France. Cockaine, however, put it under a cover, directed it to a mercantile house at Hamburgh, and dropped it into the post-office. According to his agreement with Pitt, he was immediately seized and taken before the privy council ; and Jackson was arrested and sent to Newgate. The same evening Cockaine came to me in Newgate, lamenting his friend's indiscretion, which he said was the sole cause of the discovery, and begged of me, if possible, to procure his admission to speak to Jackson. At this time nothing had transpired of my being concerned in the business, and being on good terms with the under jailer, I procured a promise, that as soon as the sentry should be withdrawn from Jack-

* Which he *prudently* either concealed or destroyed.—ED.

son's room, he would admit Cockaine and me into it. At this interview Cockaine gave us a long account of his examination before the privy council; he said that he had acknowledged having written the direction of the letter, by the order of Jackson, but knew nothing of the contents; that he had been interrogated whether the papers were not in my handwriting; but he denied ever having seen me write; that the council seemed very inveterate against me; and he added, that having refused to sign his examination, he was threatened with Newgate, but had been given three days to consider;—that his solitary evidence would not be legal, as two witnesses were necessary to prove high treason, and he assured us if we were true to each other we were perfectly safe. I said I thought it possible I might make my escape. I asked him whether it would injure Jackson's defence, should I succeed. He said it could not. I said no more on that head.

Messrs. Emmett, Tone, and Dowling had called on me the day I expected to have been brought before the privy council, and it was determined I should tell the whole of the transaction without concealment, except of names of individuals. I mentioned to them my plan of escape, which I had commenced, after Jackson's arrest, in the Fives Court, with Mr. Dowell, jun. the under jailer. I told him that I had been pressed for money, and had sold a small estate, which was to have been paid for long since, but the purchaser, or

rather the attorney, had started an objection, on account of my signing the deeds while in prison, by which my heirs might hereafter contest the sale ; but the attorney had said also, that by an additional expense of about £50 or £100 the risk might be evaded ; that I looked upon this as a mere cheatery of the attorney ; that I would rather give twice the sum to any person, and that I would consult Mr. Dowling.

The next day was the 1st of May ; I told Mr. Dowell that it had been suggested to me, that he might easily assist me, if he would take me out of the prison just so long as to enable the witnesses to attest the signature being made out of the precincts of the jail ; and I declared that if he could contrive that, I should rejoice to give him the £100 instead of the attorney. He said he would ask the head jailer, and perhaps he would consent to it. I objected to this by saying that the head jailer might think, that during the course of my imprisonment he might take the same liberty at other times, and therefore he had better not make the application. Shortly after, he asked me whether he might not tell his father ; to which I immediately consented ; and it was agreed that he should give me an answer. A little before dinner-hour he came and desired me to be ready at *twelve o'clock*. This I immediately communicated to my friend Dowling, who proposed to meet me at that hour on horseback at the end of Sackville-street. We had a Swiss

butler who had lived with us some years, to whom I laid open this part of the plan, and I directed a table to be laid out above stairs, with wine, &c. &c. in a front two-pair-of-stair room, the door of which commanded a view of the staircase. He was instructed, when we came to the door, to show us up stairs, and say the gentlemen had called, but they would shortly return.

About twelve o'clock Mr. Dowell appeared in the prison, with his sabre and pistols in his girdle, and thence accompanied me to my own house. On our arrival there, the servant did as he was instructed. I then sat down with Mr. Dowell to take some refreshment; in the mean time I had prepared the purse with the 100 guineas, which I threw across the table to him, saying I was much better pleased with his having it than *Six-and-eightpenny*. And here I must record that he put the purse back to me, saying he did not do it for gain; but I remonstrated, and he relented. At this moment I accused myself of my insincerity; but, as Godwin describes in Caleb Williams, under somewhat similar circumstances, I was not prepared to "maintain my sincerity at the expence of a speedy close to my existence."

I then said as we could not remain long absent, if he had no objection, I would step into the back room opposite, where my wife and eldest boy slept. To this he immediately consented; and I desired I might be called when the gentlemen returned. I entered, changed my clothes

for those of my herd, who had opportunely come to town that day with a cow for the children. I then descended from the window by a knotted rope, which was made fast to the bed-post and reached down to the garden. I went to the stable, took my horse, and rode to the head of Sackville-street, where Mat Dowling had appointed to meet me. Here I was obliged to wait nearly half an hour before Dowling appeared. His delay was occasioned by some friends having called on him to supper ; Mat never being the first to break up company, was obliged to remain until the party separated of themselves, lest he should be suspected of being concerned in my escape. Some of my friends advised my taking my pistols with me ; but I had made up my mind not to be taken alive, so I only put a razor in my pocket. At last Dowling came up, and we set out for the house of Mr. Sweetman, who was a friend of his, and lived on the sea-side at Sutton, near Baldoyle, by whom, and his then wife, I was received with the utmost kindness ; and in a short time afterwards Dowling returned home.

As soon as day broke Mr. Sweetman set out for Rush, in hope of procuring a smuggling boat that would take me to France. On his arrival there, he found the place in great confusion, for Mr. Dowell, with a military party, was searching several of the houses ; but there were two in particular, in either of which he expected to find me, as they belonged to some person who had been confined in Newgate, and had frequently dined with me ; but

they had been released, as it was only for some revenue affair they were in confinement. M^cDowell, however, immediately suspected them to have sheltered me, and was then searching their houses. Thus disappointed at Rush, Mr. Sweetman said he thought I might be secreted somewhere in Ireland ; but I persisted in my wish to get to France, both on my own and Mr. Jackson's account. He then asked me whether I would risk myself in a little fishing wherry of his, which lay moored close to his house. This I accepted willingly, if any person not in my situation would attempt the same risk. He replied that he would make enquiry on that subject ; and ere long, he told me he had met with two brothers of the name of Sheridan, who agreed to land a person in France, and to find a third, if necessary, to man the boat.

In the course of this day, proclamations offering £1,000 from government, and £500 from the city, with as much made up of minor subscriptions from jailers and others, for my apprehension, were dispersed through all the environs of Dublin.

It being determined on to employ Mr. Sweetman's boat, it became necessary to purchase several articles, such as a compass, charts, and provisions, for which he was obliged to go to Dublin. On his return I met him, and shortly after we were joined by the two Sheridans, one of whom, taking out of his pocket one of the proclamations, showed it to Mr. Sweetman and said, "*It is Mr. Hamilton Rowan we are to take to France.*" "Yes,"

replied Mr. Sweetman, "and here he is;" and introduced me to them; immediately the elder brother said, "*Never mind it; by J——s we will land him safe.*"

The wind being fair, it was determined to sail that night, but not to mention any thing to Murphy, who was the third person whom they had engaged, until we were all on board. Every thing went well until we were near Wexford, when the wind changed, and blew so hard that we were driven back to take shelter under Howth. During the night, the elder Sheridan told me that he had some conversation with the man they had engaged to go with us, which made it necessary that either he or I should be always on deck, to see the course of the vessel; "for though his brother was as sound as steel, yet he loved a sup." The weather had cleared before morning, and we again spread our sail with a fair wind. In crossing the British channel, while we were nearer to England than to France, we found ourselves enveloped by a British fleet coming up the channel; but the ships which served as convoy kept between them and the French coast, so that we passed unobserved. As we neared France, we were saluted by the fire of one of the numerous small batteries which were erected along the shores. This was for want of colours; so I borrowed Sheridan's night-cap, which by chance was red, filled it with straw, stuck it on a boat-hook, and lashed it to the

helm as a *bonnet de liberté*,* and thus sailed unmolested to the mouth of a small bay under the fort of St. Paul de Leon, called Roscoff. Here we saw a small fishing boat, which I boarded, and having divided what cash I had remaining in my purse equally among my crew, I ordered them to make for England, and the fisherman to take me to the town. This transaction passing in view of the town, the quay was crowded with inquirers, and I

* “Note, too, how the Jacobin brethren are mounting new symbolical head-gear: the woollen cap, or night-cap, *bonnet de laine*, better known as *bonnet rouge*, the colour being red: a thing one wears not only by way of Phrygian Cap of Liberty, but also for convenience sake, and then also in compliment to the lower class of patriots and Bastille heroes—for the red night-cap combines all three properties.”—CARLYLE. “A red cap was reached to the King at the end of a pike, by a man who cried, ‘*Vive la nation.*’ The King said—‘The nation has no better friend than I.’ On which the other insolently added—‘Prove it then, by putting on the red cap, and crying *Vive la nation!*’ The Queen was also desired by a female patriot to wear a similar ornament. Shocked at the idea, she said, ‘You see this cap will not go on my head.’ She then put it on the head of the Prince. This satisfied the woman and her followers.”—*Moore’s Journal*. A friend of the Editor’s, an antiquarian and virtuoso, being in Paris in 1838, was anxious to obtain a specimen of the celebrated *bonnet rouge*, and accordingly enquired for it in several shops; but without success; the object of his search not being understood, till he explained it by calling out, *bonnet revolutionnaire*. He was then told, with a scrutinizing look, to call the next morning and he should be gratified. This, however, at the suggestion of a friend, he prudently declined, lest he should meet a discourteous and unphilosophical reception from certain gentlemen called *gens d’armes*, who had no taste for such antiquities.—ED.

was taken up to the Hotel de Ville. I was detained there some time before any of the constituted authorities arrived, and was then very minutely searched for papers. *The Dublin Evening Post*, which contained the proclamation, I handed to the president, who was commandant of the fort. I told him my story ; to which he coolly answered, after a few questions, that as by my own account I had escaped from prison in my own country, he would take care I should not escape from him ; and he ordered me to be confined in the upper room of the Town House, with a sentry in the room, until the mayor of the town should arrive and examine me. I then requested that a letter from me to the *Committee de Salut Publique** in Paris should be forwarded immediately, which he promised, and it was forthwith put in execution. The place of my confinement overlooked the bay. It was now near the close of day ; and fatigued from the voyage and agitated spirits, I laid myself on a straw mattress which was placed in the corner of the room, and fell asleep.

At midnight I was roused by the arrival of the mayor, who came to examine me. He interrogated me with more consistency and ingenuity than I had as yet found among my new acquaintance. In the course of my examination, his eye turned towards my hat, in which some

* "A 'Committee of Public Salvation,' whereof the world still shrieks and shudders."—CARLYLE.

person at the court-house had put a national cockade ; he now rose and tore it out, exclaiming, as if in a violent rage, against me whom he knew to be an English spy, for having thus dared to profane the emblem of liberty ! I assured him that as soon as an answer to my letter came to him from the *Comité de Salut Publique* he would know me better. He informed me that Jean Bon St. André was then in mission at Brest, overseeing the equipment of the ships which were destined to meet the British fleet. I begged him to forward a letter from me to him.

I rose early the next morning, and on going to my garret window, I was much mortified to see my little boat moored among the rest of the vessels in the harbour. When the municipal officer brought me my breakfast, I inquired for the sailors ; but I could get no other account either of men or vessel, except that it had been pursued and taken ; that the sailors were not at Roscoff, but they were safe. I was now informed that Jean Bon St. André had received my letter, and had ordered me to be sent to Brest, with a *garde d'honneur* (that meant to keep me safe). All my inquiries about the fate of the boat-men were still evaded by pretended ignorance.

[Mr. Rowan, in a letter which he found means to have conveyed to his beloved wife, gives nearly the same account of his escape which appears in the Memoir, with a few additional circumstances.

He says that after he left his house in Dominick-street, he spent so irksome a half-hour in waiting for his friend, that he had almost determined to return. After remaining two days in his asylum, where he was treated with the greatest kindness, he embarked on Saturday night, with a fair wind, which continued till the morning, when it became boisterous and contrary, and drove him back to Howth. He expresses the great solicitude which he had felt for his boatmen, among whom and himself he equally divided all the money in his possession. When he found that they were imprisoned, he applied to the Minister of Marine, and procured their liberty at Brest, where they were enabled to earn five or six livres a day, and were lodged and boarded at the public expence. "They are as well, and as happy," says he, "as men kept from returning till spring, can be."* He

* In a subsequent letter from Wilmington, after speaking of the importunity of some persons, to whom, he says, he felt but little indebted, he adds—"There are three men, who, I understand, are not importunate, whose honour, disinterestedness, and integrity, do credit to humanity, and claim my utmost gratitude. If I was this moment setting my foot on Irish land, my first visit ought to be paid to those men. If I had not gratitude, you would not love me—I should not be worthy of your love—I should not be sensible of what you have suffered through me, nor adore you for your sufferings." He adds, in a playful style—"I have taken a small sheet to compress my sins and confessions; and upon looking over this letter, I find I have said nothing of your beauty: now, my poor deceased friend, Mrs. Wollstonecraft, (Did you see her when in London?) says that ought never to be omitted: well, then, you are beautiful as good, and good as beautiful."

speaks of neutral places on the Continent, where it might be possible for Mrs. Rowan, with her children, to meet him ; expresses anxiety to know the fate of Jackson ; accuses himself bitterly for not having acted more agreeably to her prudent counsels, and fears that he may have forfeited her love and friendship. “ I am unmanned,” he says, “ when I think I have lost your regard ; and I am desperate when I reflect that I deserve it.” As to this, his fears were visionary ; she felt and proved the full force and truth of the sentiment that has been so happily expressed and illustrated by our national bard :

“ The heart that has truly loved, never forgets,
But as truly loves on to the close ;
As the sun-flower turns to the god, when he sets,
The same look which she turned when he rose.”]

In the course of the next morning, three cavaliers presented themselves as my convoy to Brest ; and a rascally nag, with an equally sorry equipage, was prepared for me. The three officers who composed this guard had all served in the Vendée war, and during our journey recapitulated several acts committed by them which appeared to me most atrocious.

In the evening we reached Morlaix, and were lodged in the guard house of the National Guard, which had formerly been a convent. A young man, a captain of *La Garde Nationale*, was on guard ; he had a very prepossessing countenance

and pleasing manners. I gave him an account of my situation in Ireland, and my distress at the possible persecution of my family. Similar feelings seemed to have agitated him, for his reply was : “ *Et moi, j’ai perdu un pere qui m’aimait bien, et non par la voie de la nature ; et pour garantir la reste de ma famille je suis forcé de porter l’habit que vous voyez.*”

We set out the next morning, and on our arrival at Brest, went directly to the lodgings of St. André. He had gone on board the fleet, which was preparing to go to sea, to meet the British. The officers who formed my *garde d’honneur* being anxious to get out of Brest before the closing of the gates, were now at a loss what to do with me. They knew I was not their prisoner ; but as in those critical times they must act with caution, or their heads might answer for it, they asked me whether I would have any objection to pass the night at the Military Hospital. I saw the delicacy of their situation, and answered, I would go wherever they chose. We then rode to the *Hopital des Invalides* ; the captain having spoken with the *concierge*, returned, and I took leave of them. I was then led into a court yard surrounded by buildings, which had all the appearance of a prison, and taken to a door at which a sentry stood, to whom I was handed. He took me to a staircase leading to a gallery which occupied one side of the square, and there he left me in the care of some galley slaves. This part of the building was fur-

nished with beds on each side, about four feet from each other, most of them occupied by invalids collected from the different prisons in Brest, and some British and other prisoners whose health did not allow of their being sent to the interior. On entering this room, I was met by the galley slaves, who were designated as such by a slight wire round the left leg, just above the ankle. They then registered my name, and gave me a pewter porringer and cup, which they desired me to place on the cover of a kind of press-bed which I was to occupy. In about an hour, during which I had to reply to many inquiries put to me by the invalids, a bell rang, and the galley-slaves drew into the room two tumbrells, in one of which were cauldrons of soup, as they called it, and on the other boiled kidney-beans and potatoes, and flagons of the *vin du pays*; the prisoners ranging themselves, each at the foot of his bed, with their cups and porringers in their hands; I did the same.

It was evident that this act of mine caused some commotion among my fellow-prisoners; which was soon explained by a deputation from them coming up to me and desiring me to withdraw from my place, for that they were all good *sans culottes*, and it was not proper that an English spy should be fed along with them! The galley-slaves, however, soon made me return to my place, for they commanded in chief; and soon after we all retired to our beds. During the night I detected one of the slaves rifling my pockets, when he thought I was

asleep, whilst he pretended to be settling my bed-clothes. I told the person who lay in the next bed to mine that I would complain to the *conceirge* next day; but he advised me to hold my tongue, for these people had the perquisite of all the clothes, &c. of those who died in the hospital, and it was strongly suspected they had been the death of some invalids, by giving them wrong medicine during the night. There were little closets at the end of every fourth or fifth bed, and a physician attended every morning.

The idea of my being an English spy had obtained a greater currency from the arrival of six poor priests, who were brought in from the hold of a prison ship, in a miserable condition, covered with sores, from lying in the cable tier without any bedding. One of these was placed in the bed next to mine, and I constantly assisted him when obliged to leave his bed on different occasions. This, in the opinion of my companions, was a decided proof of my being an English spy; for who but such a person would pay any attention to a *refractory priest*!

Some days elapsed, and I had neither received any answer from the *Comité de Salut Public*, nor message from Jean Bon St. André. I attempted to address the physician during one of his morning visits; but he stopped me immediately—" *Tais toi : j'y suis pour te saigner et non pour te parler.*" What at first had rather amused me had now an effect on my spirits. Three days in each decade

(for the week was changed from seven days to ten) the prisoners were permitted to walk for an hour in a wide alley of the garden of the hospital, guarded by sentries on each side, to prevent any intercourse between them and other persons. I was then ignorant of the fate of all my letters ; for the prisoners might write as many as they pleased, so as they paid for pens and paper, which were furnished by the slaves ; but they never went farther than the jailer's room.

About this time an English sailor, of the name of Rodwell, from Yarmouth, was brought in sick from one of their ships, where he had been prisoner during the action ; he gave me an old duodecimo volume out of his bag, which afforded me more pleasure than I ever had before received from a single book. It was "*An Exposition of the Twenty-third Psalm, full of comfortable and wholesome doctrine ; written to the City of London, by John Hooper ;*" printed in 1562. He then gave me a correct account of the action, very different indeed from that distributed among the people, who declared it to have been most decidedly favourable to the French, and that the English Admiral's ship had been sunk.

[The reader may see a detailed account of the memorable action of the 1st of June, 1794, in *James's Naval History*. The French fleet fought gallantly ; but though superior to the British in the size of the ships, and in the num-

bers both of guns and of men, England justly claimed the victory. Six of the noblest war-ships of France were captured, and a seventh, after striking her colours, went to the bottom. The loss of the English was 290 killed, and 858 wounded; that of the French, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 7,000. Notwithstanding, reports had been industriously circulated that the French were the victors. There had been some fighting on the day before that of the general engagement, and the Conventional deputy assured the French people, that the battle of the 29th, "although not decisive, had to them been eminently glorious." The day following told a different tale. It is recorded of St. André, that he "thoroughly *sans-cullotised* the sailors of the port of Brest. * * He was on the deck of *La Montagne*, a first-rate, on the first day of the engagement; but being wounded in the arm, he removed into a frigate on the second day; and, in consequence, his reputation for courage suffered some injury. It is even said, that during the conflict, the frigate having occasion to engage with another of the enemy's, St. André, who was then in the cock-pit with the surgeon, asked one of the boys employed in carrying powder, how the action went on. "You had better," said the young sailor, "go upon deck, if you would know with certainty."

"The event of this action was unfavourable to the naval honour of France, though it saved the American convoy, consisting of 230 ships, laden with corn and other necessities of life, which were

much wanted at that time in France.”—*Biographical Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Republic.*

Soon after the action, a paragraph appeared in the Dublin newspapers, asserting that Mr. Rowan was on board the *La Montagne*, the French admiral's ship—a report which caused Mrs. Rowan no small anxiety, till she ascertained that it was a fabrication. This was followed, in the ensuing September, by another fabrication, purporting to be the true copy of a letter, dated *Paris, Messidor 16*, and signed A. H. Rowan; studiously contrived to misrepresent him, and bearing no similitude in style or in sentiment to any thing he could have written.]

One side of the building in which I was confined, was occupied by the revolutionary tribunals, and we daily saw from our windows, on the opposite side, waggon-loads of prisoners brought for trial. Those who were condemned returned immediately in the same vehicle to the guillotine, with their arms pinioned and their necks bare, while the crowds were shouting “*Vive la Republique.*”

I had now been a long time in prison, when in our morning airings a naval officer, who belonged to one of the vessels which had been captured at Toulon, told me there was a vacant bed in the officers' room, and he thought if I asked the *concierge* I might get it, and should be more comfortable. I told him it had been suggested to me be-

fore ; but as I passed for an English spy, and knew them to be confined for something of the Toulon business, I did not make the application ; but would do so now, as they did not think it would injure them. It was granted, and the exchange of situation was delightful. These officers lived separately in a room to themselves, were permitted to receive their friends, and were allowed to have some books, to which I had now free access, and which, of course, put the Exposition of the Psalm out of favour.

One of these gentlemen gave me the following account of their imprisonment :—The English having taken possession of Toulon, found an extraordinary number of French seamen collected there, and feared an insurrection might ensue. To prevent this, they proposed that two of the French vessels in the harbour should embark as many sailors as they could, and they would give them passports to Brest ; which they accepted, and arrived there safe with upwards of 1,000 sailors. On their arrival, Jean Bon St. André had complimented them on having saved so many sailors to the Republic, and invited them to live with him. In about the time it would take for the return of letters from Paris, St. André asked them one day, after dinner, where they had stowed their guns. Their answer was, that the vessels had been dismantled previous to the embarking of the sailors. “ What ! ” said he in a furious tone, “ you gave up your arms without any resistance ! You have be-

trayed your country !" He immediately quitted the room ; and shortly after a guard came in, and conducted them to where I saw them. I do not say these gentlemen were republicans, or attached to the present form of government ; but I think they would have served it with zeal and spirit against any foreign force whatever. I repeated to them the account I had heard of the action of June ; but it was so opposite to that which they had received of it, that they said I was prejudiced, and exulted as much at the victory, which they asserted was gained by their fleet, as if they had participated in the battle. A slight coolness in their behaviour to me was the consequence, during the short time I remained there after this occurrence. I met some of them in Paris after their liberation, when they acknowledged their error, and and apologised for their conduct, which had previously been most kind and friendly.

I must now relate the circumstances which led to my release from the hospital at Brest.

At an early period of the French revolution, my old friend and neighbour in the county of Kildare, Mr. Wogan Browne, had introduced me to a guest at his hospitable mansion, Mr. Delahoyde, who had come to Ireland on some private business, previous to the French revolution. He had served in the Irish Brigade, and had the military cross. His residence was in the neighbourhood of Brest, where he had married a lady of good fortune, from which and other circumstances, such as the general

proscription of foreigners and those so connected, he was afraid to return to France, although it was very necessary he should, as his property lay in or about Brest. In order to facilitate his return, I proposed to Mr. Browne that I would get his friend elected into the corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers, and by giving him a furlough as their major, with a certificate of being a good Irish citizen and lover of liberty, I thought he might trust himself in France. He did so, and of course took every opportunity of parading the certificate before the constituted authorities at Brest, his place of residence. One of these happened to be Mr. Sullivan, the inspector of all the prisoners of war. He was on his tour of duty, when a letter of mine was brought to the jailer, who threw it to Mr. Sullivan, with a "*Sacre Dieu ! débarrassez moi de cet homme là, qu'on le renvoie ou qu'on le guillotine, car il m'ennuie.*" On reading my letter, Mr. Sullivan happening to recollect the name, came into the prison, and finding I was the person he supposed, promised to write to the *Comité de Salut Public* for me ; and by the return of the post, he got orders to Prieur de la Marne, who had replaced Jean Bon St. André at Brest, to liberate me, and send me and Sullivan to Paris ; for which place we set out the next morning, in a *Berline a quatre chevaux*, with the tricolour flag flying from the roof as usual, as a representative of the nation, and at its expense. The same orders had been sent to Roscoff ; but the authorities had neglected to for-

ward them to Brest, supposing that I had seen Jean Bon St. André, and therefore needed no further attention. As we passed along, in various demesnes we saw hanging on the trees and on most of the substantial-looking houses, notices of "*Propriété Nationale à Vendre.*"

On our arrival at Orleans, the decree acknowledging God, and the immortality of the soul, which had just passed the Convention, was about to be promulgated by a great fête ! All the public functionaries, of every sort, civil and military, were assembled at the chief church, which was then opened for the public. About half way up the very handsome steeple of the church, a large board was placed, on which the words "*Le peuple Français reconnoit L'Etre Suprême et l'Immortalité de l'Ame,*" were blazoned in large gold letters, with a screen before it. At a signal the screen fell, amidst the firing of cannon and musketry, and bands of music playing, while the multitude responded, "*Vive Robespierre !*" who was supposed to be the framer of the decree. We continued our route to Paris, where we arrived the same night, and drove to the Committee of *Salut Public.*

CHAPTER X.

Interview with Robespierre—Taken ill of fever—Attended by the chief surgeon of the army—Visited by an old friend—Citizen Herman's generosity—Mentions Jackson's case—Takes lodgings—Tyranny of the French government, and oppression of the people—Executions by the guillotine—Great political changes—Jacobin clubs dispersed—Wearry of Paris—Resolves to embark for America—Obtains passes to Havre—Sails down the Seine in a wherry—Assaulted by the alarmist Sans Culottes—Taken before the Mayor of Passy—Allowed to proceed—Instance of extraordinary honesty in the French—Reaches Rouen—Law of the *Maximum*—Mary Wollstonecraft—Engages a passage to America—Brought to by a British frigate—Interrogated by an officer—Lands in Philadelphia—Settles in Wilmington.

I had been suffering under an attack of fever, which hung over me from the time I left Brest, and which rendered me almost incapable of answering the few questions put to me by Robespierre, who on seeing my situation, dismissed us, and ordered our attendance on the next morning. My fever had, however, increased so much during the night, that I could not rise from my bed; and Monsieur Colon, the chief surgeon of the army, was ordered by the Committee to attend me. I was lodged in a superb suit of apartments, in the *Hotel de la Place Republique*, (formerly Palais

Royale,) with orders to furnish me with every thing I could require, *au depend de la nation*.

During this time I received a visit from a gentleman who had been a fellow-student at Cambridge and at Warrington Academy, where I spent a year of my rustication,* but who was one of the last I should have expected to meet in France at such a period. He was a member of parliament.† He told me Mr. Jackson had been introduced to him in London, and he thought it safest to absent himself, though he was quite ignorant of Irish affairs. I can scarcely speak highly enough of the constant attendance of Monsieur Colon both day and night; nor his absolute refusal of the most trifling gratuity. In about six weeks I was sufficiently convalescent; and I waited on the *Comité de Salut Public*. Some few questions concerning the state of parties in Ireland and England were put to me, and I was then dismissed, and ordered to apply to Citizen Herman, Intendant of the Finance, for any thing I should require.

I mentioned Jackson's situation in Ireland; and I was told that the Russian Ambassador had been requested to say, that General O'Hara, who had been taken prisoner at the recapture of Toulon, should undergo the same fate as Jackson. I ven-

* This passage confirms what was offered only as conjecture in page 45. This record of the *fact* had escaped the editor's recollection when the MS. was sent to the printer.—ED.

† I believe Mr. Bingham.—J. H. R.

tured to say, that I did not think this would have any effect on the British government, their cases were so dissimilar ; but that I was certain Cockaine might be bought off ; and I was answered, that that had also been taken care of. Citizen Herman laughed at me, for my anxiety about the expense I was at in the hotel during my illness, and desired the bill to be sent to him and it should be paid ; but if I was determined to change my residence, to let him know ; and if I wanted any thing, to apply to him. For my immediate expenses he gave me an order for 1,000 *livres* on the treasurer, apologising for the smallness of the sum, but desiring me to apply to him without ceremony for whatever I might want in future. But he was dragged to the guillotine soon after this conversation, as an adherent of Robespierre. I had at that time settled a plan of communication with my wife, who contrived means to supply me plentifully ; so that this was the only pecuniary assistance I received from the French government.

I now took lodgings in the hotel in which my mother had lived, and where my eldest son was born. It was in the Rue Mousseau, and had been bought by, or given to a lock-smith, who had formerly been employed at Versailles. In this house I witnessed several of the inconveniencies of a revolutionary government. He was ordered to prepare carriages for four heavy guns. He had no plan or model given him, nor was it in his line of business ; yet he was made responsible for the

wood as well as the iron work. I saw one of these carriages rejected four times by the inspector, who could not even point out its faults. Another extortion practised upon housekeepers, was the searching for saltpetre. This was carried on by persons who demanded entrance into the cellars, and forced the proprietors to remove casks, bottles, wood, or any thing that came in their way. Unless well paid, they instantly commenced excavations; in this case, the owner of the house was obliged to pay, according to their very erroneous measurement, a certain sum per cubic foot for the earth removed, and as much more for that which they brought, as they said, to fill up the cavity.

The dissensions between the members of the *Comité de Salut Public* now became serious. Callot, D'Herbois, Barrere, and their partizans; industriously heaped the odium of all the measures of severity upon Robespierre, hoping to screen themselves from enormities which were common to all such governments. In this they were seconded by all the enemies to the revolution; and their united efforts, on the 9th Thermidor, brought Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just, to the scaffold, rather than any excessive cruelty they had been guilty of, which was the order of the day, under the pretence of public good.

In two days after the execution of Robespierre, the whole commune of Paris, consisting of about sixty persons, were guillotined in less than one hour and a half, in the Place de la Revolution; and

though I was standing above a hundred paces from the place of execution, the blood of the victims streamed under my feet. What surprised me was, as each head fell into the basket, the cry of the people was no other than a repetition of "*A bas le Maximum !*" which was caused by the privations imposed on the populace by the rigorous exaction of that law which set certain prices upon all sorts of provisions, and which was attributed to Robespierre. The persons who now suffered were all of different trades ; and many of them, indeed, had taken advantage of that law, and had abused it, by forcing the farmers and others who supplied the Paris markets, to sell at the maximum price, and they retailed at an enormous advance to those who could afford to pay. I did not see Robespierre going to the guillotine ; but have been informed that the crowd which attended the waggon in which he passed on that occasion, went so far as to thrust their umbrellas into the waggon against his body.

From this period every thing bore a new face. Marat's bust and the *bonnet de liberté* were torn down and trampled upon in the theatres and other public places. The revolutionary committees, one of which was established in each of the forty-eight districts into which Paris was divided, were reduced to twelve. The armourers, and other workmen, who had been brought from Liege and other places to Paris, to work for the republic, were sent back to their different habitations. The meetings

of the citizens in their sections, which took place every *Quintidi* and *Decadi*, were limited to *Decadi* only. The hour of meeting was changed from evening to noon; and the allowance which had been made by government of one day's labour to all citizens attending those meetings was discontinued. But the greatest alteration which now took place was that of dispersing the Jacobin Club. Several noted members of this society were imprisoned, while those who had been confined on suspicion of incivism, were released in great numbers.

It now became a measure of personal safety, to be able to declare that one had been imprisoned during Robespierre's tyranny. It was dangerous even to appear like a Jacobin, as several persons were murdered in the streets, by *La Jeunesse Parisienne*,* merely because they wore long coats and short hair.

On my first arrival in Paris, there was an immense number of houses on which was painted in large letters, "*Propriété Nationale à vendre*;" and on almost all others, the words "*Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité, ou la mort*." After the death of Robespierre, the *three* last words were decided to be terrorist, and were expunged every where. At the

* *La Jeunesse Parisienne* were a body of young men of good family, whose relations had suffered death or imprisonment under the reign of terror; and who appeared in open opposition to the Jacobins and the terrorists after the downfall of Robespierre.

time of the horrid explosion of the powder magazine in the *Plaine de Grenelle*, dismay appeared on the countenance of almost every one. By this dreadful catastrophe seven hundred workmen lost their lives; and their widows were inscribed on the books of the section—(I lived in *Section des Champs Elisées*)—as having lost their husbands on that day, and being thrown on the republic for support. Every misfortune prior to this time had been laid on Pitt and Coburg; now the Jacobins were considered to be the evil genii of the French nation; so that this accident, and some fires which took place about this time in Paris, were attributed to them. I thought it a doubtful case whether the renewed Committee of *Salut Publique* would hold up against the Jacobin party; but the former was seconded by the Royalist party, who were duped into the idea that royalty would be well re-established the moment the Jacobins were effectually overthrown. The Royalists, however, by this coalition became ultimately victorious over both parties.

Being much discontented with the distracted state of Paris, where they were too busy with their own intestine divisions to think of assisting Ireland, or of any thing beneficial to others, after spending almost a year there, I solicited, and with some difficulty obtained, through the assistance of an Irish Roman Catholic of the name of Madget, who was employed in some of the offices of the republic, passports to Havre, in order to embark for

the United States of North America, under the assumed name of Thomson.

Not wishing to mix indiscriminately with the persons I might meet in a diligence, I determined to fall down the river, at least as far as Rouen, in a little Thames wherry, which I had bought at the sale of the Duke of Orleans's effects, at his country house; and on the 17th of April, 1795, I embarked in her, with my little dog, my *necessaire*,* and various other small packages, among which was one parcel from Mr. Monroe, the American Ambassador, to Mr. Randolph, the Secretary of State at Philadelphia, which, with my regular passports and certificates of having regularly mounted my guards during my residence in Paris, I thought might alone have sufficed for my safety under any examinations. I had got down the river as far as the Port Royal Bridge, when an alarmist *sans culotte* espied me, and immediately denounced me as "*Un député qui s'écadoit avec l'or de la nation.*" He procured a musket, which he from time to time levelled at me, and threatened to fire, as often as the boat, either driven by the current, or to avoid barges, approached so near the side he was on that

* *Boîte, etui qui renferme différentes choses nécessaires ou commodes en voyage.*—CHAMBAUD. "Moreover, her Majesty cannot go a step any whither without her *necessaire*, dear *necessaire*, of inlaid ivory and rose-wood, cunningly devised, which holds perfumes, toilette implements, infinite small queen-like furnitures necessary to terrestrial life."—CARLYLE.

the battlements prevented his having a full view of me.

At length I came to the landing-place at the gate of Chaillot, when this man, who was evidently intoxicated, in his haste to seize me, stepped upon the gun-wale of the little boat, and at the same time swamped it and threw himself into the water. I leaped out, and desired to be conducted to the guard at the barrier of Passy. By this time some hundred persons were collected, and the back ranks not knowing exactly what was going on in the front, began the usual cry of "*A la lanterne !*" The officer on guard came up from the gate ; I showed him my passports, and particularly my certificates of having mounted all my guards in my section. He said my papers were all "*en regle*," and that I might proceed ;* but the mob still in-

* In one of his letters Mr. Rowan says—"When I was desired to go away, I represented the impossibility of so doing, surrounded as I was ; besides my persecutor had declared his *nolo*, and had even attempted to pinion me ; an attempt which, with more of man savage than man polite, I had resisted with a violent blow of the elbow in his stomach. The moment I had done so was the moment of my repentance. I was successful, however, in parrying the effect, by violent assertion of the rights of man in a free country. At last a compromise was made that I should go to the municipality or the mayor. This was the day after Barrere, Collot, and Billaud had been brought back by the people in opposition to the decree of the Convention ; and the minds of the people being much heated, you may imagine I waited no longer than was necessary to set the boat afloat, and put off, leaving a discontented crowd behind me."

sisted that I was carrying off *l'or de la nation*, and I requested the officer who was drawing off his guard, to allow me to take my small baggage to the guard-room, and open it there for the satisfaction of the people; but he peremptorily refused, and marched off, saying "*ce n'étoit pas son affaire.*" At length one from among them proposed to take me before the mayor of Passy, whither I proceeded, conducted by my first friend, who still held me, and followed by the crowd.

We found the mayor at home. My conductor pushed into his room. I was somewhat assured as to his character, by his saying to this fellow, "*Ote ton bonnet; ne vois tu pas qui je suis decouvert?*" The man obeyed, and then stated his suspicions of my story, one of which was, the improbability of intending to row to Havre, and yet wearing gloves at setting out for so long a distance. I again produced my papers to the mayor; they were re-examined, and it was declared that every thing was *en regle*, and that they should permit me to continue my voyage. At the same time the mayor complimented my conductors for their zeal and attention to the safety of the republic. My persecutors, in some little dudgeon, now left me, while the crowd returned with me to the water side. Here, to my inexpressible surprise, I found every thing in my boat exactly as I had left it—some bottles of wine, a little silver cup, my necessaire, and a gold-headed cane, all safe, though at the mercy of hundreds, who, while

they would, without ceremony, have tucked me up to the lamp-iron, would not touch an article of my property.

[It seemed very remarkable to Dr. Moore, that in the ungovernable state of Paris, though he went frequently alone from the Caffé de Foy in the Palais Royal, after it was dark, he was never attacked, nor did he ever hear of a single street-robbery or house-breaking during his stay in that metropolis. One might suppose that many of the atrocities perpetrated by the people originated in the love of spoil, and that they were "urged on by lucre and the gold louis of wages." "Nay," says Carlyle, "not lucre, for the gold watches, rings, money, of the massacred, are punctually brought to the town-hall, by killers *sans indispensables*, who higgie afterwards for their twenty shillings of wages; and Sergent, sticking an uncommonly fine agate on his finger, (fully meaning to account for it) becomes *Agate-Sergent*."* The engrossing pas-

* "A certain person (of some quality or private capital, to appearance,) entering hastily, flings down his coat, waistcoat, and two watches, and is rushing to the thick of the work. 'But your watches?' cries the general voice, 'Does one distrust his brothers?' answers he. Nor were the watches stolen. How beautiful is noble sentiment; like gossamer gauze, beautiful and cheap, which will stand no wear and tear! Beautiful cheap gossamer gauze, thou film shadow of a raw material of virtue, which art *not* woven, nor likely to be, into duty; thou art better than nothing, and also worse!"—CARLYLE. When the populace

sion was what they called patriotism ; and, for a time, this “like Aaron’s serpent swallowed all the rest.” Every atrocity was perpetrated with impunity, not from private interest or personal animosity, but from zeal for the public good ! Dr. Moore justly remarks that “this is no alleviation of the evil ; on the contrary, it were much less grievous for the citizens to be exposed to street robberies and house-breakings, which were punished when discovered, than that a misguided populace should be tolerated in the exercise of justice upon whoever they consider as state criminals.”]

I now began to lade the water out of my boat, when a woman spoke to me in English, and advised me to get off as soon as I could, for the people were much discontented with the mayor for having released me, and meditated some farther impediment to my journey. As the boat could now float, I stepped in and pushed off. I now fell down the river about half a mile, and there seeing only some washerwomen on the banks, I put the boat to shore, to get out the remainder of the water. This was one of those places in the neighbourhood of

seized on the carriage of the Prince de Lambesc, “the horses were put into a neighbouring stable ; and the portmanteau, carefully detached, was lodged in the hall. This trivial circumstance is worthy of notice, because it shows the respect then paid to property ; and that the public mind was entirely fixed on those grand objects which absorb private passions and interests.”—MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT.

Passy, where the washerwomen assemble to wash linen. The whole *possé* instantly rose, *battoit à la main* ;* they seized me on the same charge of *un député qui s'évadoit*, &c. &c. and took me before the mayor of Passy a second time, who again released me, and a second time complimented the ladies on their patriotism and vigilance.

I now determined, in case of any farther impediment, to give up my boat and try my fortune by land. I, however, reached Argenteuil undisturbed,

* Mr. Carlyle, in his history of the French revolution, gives us some graphic descriptions of such heroines :—" These are female patriots, whom the Girondines call Megæras, and count to the extent of 8,000 ; with serpent hair all out of curl, who have changed the distaff for the dagger. They are of the society called brotherly, *fraternelle*, say *sisterly*, which meets under the roof of the Jacobins. Two thousand daggers or so have been ordered, doubtless for them. They rush to Versailles to raise more women." Heroines of the insurrection of women ; strong dames of the market (and of the washing-tub) ; they sit there with oak branches, tricolor bedizenment, firm seated on their canons." " Demoiselle Theroigne has on her grenadier bonnet, short-skirted riding-habit, two pistols garnish her small waist, and sabre hangs in baldric by her side." This Amazon " distinguished herself in the action of the 10th, by rallying those who fled, and attacking a second time at the head of the Marseillois." Rowan, though strong and athletic, would have had small chance of escape from a *possé* of such heroines, had they been a little more excited. The *battoir* of a Gallic female patriot might have done no less fierce execution than the *Thyrsus* of the Thracian Bacchantæ when assaulting the blameless Orpheus. The greatest enormities were attributed to an excess of patriotism ; " and none," says Dr. Moore, " dared to blame them. Never was tyrant more feared and flattered than *le peuple souverain*."

spread my things to dry, went and paid a visit to the old curate M'Laughlin, spent a day in Paris, and on the 18th resumed my course, which was extremely pleasant. My mode of travelling was certainly novel, and created more suspicion during the whole route than I had been aware of. In about four days I reached Rouen without any other remarkable occurrence.

When I left Paris there was a great scarcity of bread ; yet in the country it was plentiful and cheap. The fact was, that the farmers had been plundered by the citizens, under the law of *maximum*.* This law was now no longer enforced ; but the country people, out of revenge, withheld the necessary supplies from the towns where it had been enforced.

At Rouen I renewed an acquaintance with the family of Mr. Garvey, which had originated in 1772, when I resided nearly two years in that city. After spending two or three days there, I got into a diligence, and in one day more arrived in Havre.

* “ The grazier no longer drove his oxen to Paris, where the *maximum*, on entering the barriers, diminished half their value ; nor could the butcher furnish meat, when the *maximum* allowed him but half the purchase money of the cattle. *Des caremes civiques* (patriotic lents) were recommended to the fasting multitude ; but one wag, more indignant than the rest, painted well the state of want and cruelty to which Paris was then abandoned, by writing on the pedestal of the statue which was placed on the spot of the public executions—‘ *Il n’y a de boucherie à Paris, que sur cette place.*’ (The only slaughter-house in Paris is at this place.)”—*Letters by H. M. Williams.*

In that port there was only one vessel bound to America; and upon applying to the captain, he informed me that his cabin was engaged, and that he had no berth to spare. I had informed my family of my intentions, and I determined on trusting the captain, John Dillon of Baltimore, with my real name. He then assured me he was concerned he had no better accommodations; but he would do every thing in his power for me. He informed me that American vessels leaving France were very strictly searched by the British, and advised me to look over my papers, and added that he also would make up some new bills of lading for me, in my assumed name of Thomson, that I might appear like an American merchant returning home with my property.

During my residence at Paris, I had become acquainted with Mary Wollstonecraft, who had visited France with the intention of making herself acquainted with the true state of that country, and lived in a small cottage close to Paris. As Americans were then the only avowed foreigners protected in that city, and as after the death of Robespierre, the orders against the natives of other countries were more rigorously enforced than ever, an American family, of the name of Christie, with whom she was intimate, offered her an asylum at their house. There she became acquainted with Mr. Imlay, also an American, who paid his addresses to her; and partly as a safeguard against persecution, by being the wife of an American, she

submitted to a republican marriage, and from that time was called *Mrs. Imlay*. She took the care of his house and commercial concerns during his absence on different speculations, and was treated as his wife by all who knew her. He had a house at Havre, whither she was then going with her infant daughter. She offered me a lodging there while waiting for a passage to America; and from thence, and from London I received the following letters, which I add, as they show the state of her feelings at a remarkable period, when her case was most pitiable.

“ *Havre, April.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I wrote a few hasty lines to you just now before we entered the vessel, and after hurrying myself out of breath—for as I do not like exaggerated phrases, I would not say to death—the awkward pilot ran us aground; so here we are in an empty house, and with the heart and the imagination on the wing, you may suppose that the slow march of time is felt very painfully. I seem to be counting the ticking of a clock; and there is no clock here. For these few days I have been busy preparing; now all is done, and we cannot go. If you were to pop in, I should be glad, for in spite of my impatience to meet a friend who deserves all my tenderness, I have still a corner in my heart where I will allow you a place, *if you have no objection*. It would give me sincere pleasure to meet you at any future period, and to be introduced to your wife. Pray take care of yourself; and when you arrive, let me hear from you. You will not find a very comfortable house; but I have left a little

store of provisions in a closet, and the girl who assisted in our kitchen, and who has been well paid, has promised to do every thing for you. Mr. Wheatcroft has your packages, and will give you all the information and assistance he can. I believe I told you that I offered Mr. Russell's family my house; but since I arrived I find that there is some chance of letting it. Will you, then, when Mr. Wheatcroft informs you in what manner he has settled it, write the particulars to them? I imagine that the house will be empty for a short time to come at any rate, and the good people here sold my furniture for me. Still, I think, as they have many necessaries, they will find this house much more comfortable than an inn. Perhaps I may visit your country; if so, I shall not forget to tell your wife that I call yourself my friend. I neither like to say or write adieu. If you see my brother Charles, pray assure him that I most affectionately remember him. Take every precaution to avoid danger.

“Yours sincerely,

“MARY IMLAY.”

“*London, January 26, 1796.*”

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Though I have not heard from you, I should have written to you, convinced of your friendship, could I have told you any thing of myself that could have afforded you pleasure. I am unhappy. I have been treated with unkindness, and even cruelty, by the person from whom I had every reason to expect affection. I write to you with an agitated hand. I cannot be more explicit. I value your good opinion; and you know how to feel for me. I looked for something like

happiness in the discharge of my relative duties, and the heart on which I leaned has pierced mine to the quick. I have not been used well, and I live but for my child, for I am weary of myself. When I am more composed, I will write to you again. Mean time let me hear from you, and tell me something of Charles. I avoid writing to him, because I hate to explain myself. I still think of settling in France, because I wish to leave my little girl there. I have been very ill—have taken some desperate steps. But I am now writing for my independence. I wish I had no other evil to complain of, than the necessity of providing for myself and my child. Do not mistake me. Mr. Imlay would be glad to supply all my pecuniary wants ; but unless he returns to himself, I would perish first. Pardon the incoherence of my style ; I have put off writing to you from time to time, because I could not write calmly. It would afford me the sincerest pleasure to hear from you, were you re-united to your family, for I am your affectionate and sincere friend,

“ MARY IMLAY.”

“ Pray write to me. I will not fail—I was going to say, when I have any thing good to tell you ; but for me there is nothing good in store ; my heart is broken. Adieu. God bless you.”

“ *London, September 12th, 1796.*

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ I wrote to you some months since, by a private hand ; and though you have never acknowledged the receipt of my letter, which I think a little unkind, in spite of the affectionate remembrances that have reached

me through the medium of Mr. Maxwell, I feel an inclination to inform you of the present state of my mind. It is calmer. I have been used ill; and very wretched has the cruellest of disappointments, that of discovering I was deceived by a person in whom I trusted with all the confidence of the most perfect esteem, made me; still the consciousness that my conduct—for I governed my thoughts as well as my actions—merited a very different return from ————. Self-respect seems to promise me that internal satisfaction on which alone true happiness is built. I have sent you my last publication; and I would give you a more circumstantial account of my situation, had I time at present, in order to induce you to be equally explicit with me. I am not apt to forget those I esteem; and in your fate, I shall always take the most lively interest, respecting as I do the qualities of your head and heart. It would afford me the sincerest pleasure to hear that there was a chance of your being re-united to your family; and I wish with all my heart that my *good luck*, if there be any in store for me, may throw me into the same quarter of the globe, for I am sure I should like, say love, Mrs. Rowan, and delight to see you both in the midst of your babes. Mine grows apace, and prattles away; she is a motive, as well as a reward, for exertion. I neglected calling on Mr. Maxwell for some time during my residence in the country, and when my mind was in the most perturbed state; I now hear with pain of his declining health. If, therefore, you should write to me, address me at Mr. Johnson's, bookseller, No. 72, Saint Paul's Church-yard. The bearer of this, Mr. Cooper, is a very ingenious young man, for whom an intimate friend of mine, Mr. Godwin, has a particular affection. By shewing him any attention you would oblige Mr. G. as

well as myself; and I am much mistaken if his countenance does not prejudice you in his favour, for it is the sort of one I like to see on young shoulders.

“What do you think of the present state of Europe? The English seem to have lost the common sense which used to distinguish them.

“Adieu. Believe me your affectionate friend,

“MARY IMLAY.”

[In a letter to his wife, Mr. Rowan gives the following account of his first introduction to Mrs. Imlay:—

“On the day of the celebration of one of the numerous feasts with which this country has abounded, and which, whether it be to dispantheonize a Mirabeau or a Marat, are equally edifying and amusing to the nation, Mr. B——, who was with me, joined a lady who spoke English, and who was followed by her maid with an infant in her arms, which I found belonged to the lady. Her manners were interesting, and her conversation spirited, yet not out of the sex. B. whispered me that she was the author of the “Rights of Woman.” I started! ‘What!’ said I within myself, ‘this is Miss Mary Wollstonecraft, parading about with a child at her heels, with as little ceremony as if it were a watch she had just bought at the jeweller’s. So much for the rights of women,’ thought I. But upon farther inquiry, I found that she had, very fortunately for her, married an American gentleman a short time before the passing of that decree which indiscriminately incarcerated all the British subjects who were at that moment in this country. My society, which before this time was entirely male, was now most

agreeably increased, and I got a dish of tea and an hour's rational conversation, whenever I called on her. The relative duties of man and wife was frequently the topic of our conversation ; and here I found myself deeply wounded ; because if my dearest thought as Mrs. Imlay did, and many of their sentiments seemed to coincide, my happiness was at an end. I have sometimes told her so ; but there must be something about me of deep deception, for I never seemed to have persuaded her that I had merited, or that you would treat me with the neglect which I then thought was my portion. Her account of Mr. Imlay made me wish for his acquaintance ; and my description of my love made her desirous of your acquaintance, which it is possible may happen ; and until you can decide for yourself, repay her, my dearest friend, some of those kind attentions which I received from her when my heart was ill at ease. Mr. Imlay was expected over here ; but his affairs keep him in England, and she is gone to join him."

We may well suppose that to a person so circumstanced as Rowan, in hopeless exile from all that he held most dear, and in the insupportable solitude and ennui of a great metropolis, the society of the lady to whom his letters have introduced us, would be highly appreciated, especially as he was one who could estimate female accomplishments ; and among the women, who, towards the conclusion of the eighteenth century, had by their learning and talents obtained celebrity, the name of Mary Wollstonecraft, author of the "*Vindication of the Rights of Woman*," stands not a little distinguished.

She was born near London, in 1759, and early discovered a vigorous understanding, united to warm feeling, great sensibility, a romantic imagination, and independent spirit.* Not being the heir of affluence, she commenced a day-school in conjunction with her sisters; and afterwards accepted the situation of private governess in the family of Lord Kingsborough. She next sought the means of honourable support in writing for the press, and took a considerable share in the *Analytical Review*. While engaged in various literary occupations, she obtained the friendship of some of the most distinguished men of taste and letters, of whom it may suffice to mention the names of Price, Bonnycastle, Fuseli, Fordyce, and Dr. Johnson. The French revolution was an event well adapted to excite her admiration; and when Burke published his "*Reflections*" upon it, she appeared as its defender, and "in a strain of impetuous reasoning and eloquent indignation, combated the arguments of the great champion of establishments." She next came forth, as her biographer informs us, "in the cause of half the human race, deprecating and exposing, in a tone of impassioned eloquence, the various means and arts by which women had been forcibly subju-

* In her dedication of the "Vindication of the Rights of Woman" to M. Tallyrand Perigord, she says—"Independence I have long considered as the grand blessing of life, the basis of every virtue; and independence I will ever secure, by contracting my wants, though I were to live on a barren heath."

gated, flattered into imbecility, and invariably held in bondage." To wean her heart from an unfortunate attachment, and "to lose," as she expressed it, "in public happiness the sense of private misery," she went to France, and in the friendship of Helen Maria Williams, then resident in Paris, sought and found some solace to her grief. "At the house of Mr. Thomas Christie, author of a volume on the French revolution, she formed an acquaintance with Imlay, a native of North America, which led to a connexion that, without the forms, had with her all the sanctity and devotedness of a matrimonial engagement." She seems to have adopted the sentiments, and spoken in the language of another heroine :—

"Curse on all ties but those which love has made !
Love, free as air, at sight of human ties,
Spreads his light wings and in a moment flies."

More happy had it been for her, had she acted on a more sacred principle, and said—

Curse on all ties but those which heaven has made !
Love, light as air, when free from *legal ties*,
Spurns all restraint, and honour's laws defies.

Her experiment was to the last degree perilous, and proved, in its consequences, ruinous to her peace. Never let it be repeated by any woman who places the slightest value on her honour, her character, or her happiness. Imlay was a sensualist, and an ingrate, by whom, (after she had wasted

her energies in managing his business, crossed the ocean for him to a foreign shore, and devoted to him her heart and soul, with a love "strong as death,") she was barbarously and ungenerously betrayed and deserted. Disappointed, deceived, wounded to the heart's core, "her mind became weakened, her health enfeebled, her fortitude broken, her time and talents wasted, till despair at length seized her," and she determined to die—she sprang into the Thames, and, while floating down the current, was rescued from a watery grave. The tie between her and Imlay being now for ever dissevered, her mind gradually became more tranquil, and having at last recovered its composure, she found a congenial disposition, a friend, and a husband, in the celebrated William Godwin, author of "Political Justice," "Caleb Williams," and many other works of high reputation, to whom she was legally married in 1796. Then might she be said to have found happiness; but her enjoyment of it was destined to be short. After giving birth to a daughter, she died in child-bed, September 1797. Her husband wrote and published her memoirs in four volumes; a work which the Editor has not had the advantage of being able to consult. The above facts are selected from *The Annual Necrology* for 1797-1798.

Mrs. Rowan endeavoured to keep up a constant correspondence with her husband. But as her letters did not always reach their destination at the expected time, he felt chagrined, and in the

grief of disappointment, charged her with coldness or neglect. In reply (January, 1795,) to a charge of this kind, she asks, "What circumstance could have induced my beloved friend to suppose I had renounced his friendship, which in every situation has been the chief happiness of my life. * * You well know the uncertainty of conveyance, which in prudence should have prevented my writing, though it did not, for this is the third letter I have written to you since we parted." She recommends him most earnestly to go to America, for there she may entertain a hope of joining him—a hope which supports her under every trial. As to the persons concerning whom he had been making every inquiry, she speaks with prudent reserve; and attributes to their influence over him all the political errors which had involved them in so much distress. "As to that wretch, T——," says she, "God forbid I should ever have any intercourse with one who, by his wicked principles and artifice, has ruined those most dear to me. He may not, perhaps, have done all the mischief in his power; but he has done too much ever to be thought of by me without horror. He is in town, and seems to be in a better way than formerly, as he has now a house. Pray never mention him to me, for his name brings to my mind a thousand things it were better to forget.—I have received your little elegant present, which, with the picture, is far dearer to me than the most costly ornament. The picture you wish for is at present doing, which is a source

of amusement ; for while it is drawing, I fancy I am employed in what will give you pleasure." This letter dissipated Rowan's idle suspicions, and brought no small relief to his mind, as is apparent from his reply, dated March 20, 1795, and signed by his adopted name, Thomson :—

“ It gives me the greatest satisfaction to find the children are all with my beloved. This letter will probably be delivered to my inestimable friend, by the sister of a lady formerly Mary Wollstonecroft, now Imlay, who has unknowingly given me many a heart-ache, since I had the pleasure of being acquainted with her. There is an avowal for you ! was ever any thing so impertinent ? Yes, she has made my heart ache, when she has persisted that no motive upon earth ought to make a man and wife live together a moment after mutual love and regard were gone. Now ill-usage and neglect naturally destroying the strongest attachment, I could not help reflecting that I was not to be pitied, because I deserved the fate which I then thought had befallen me. I at last told her my supposed situation, and she said that if I painted you right, she thought I had no reason to be alarmed ; for that when a person whom we have loved was absent, all the faults he might have were diminished, and his virtues augmented in proportion ; and her prophecy has been true, and you have fulfilled it by the kind, affectionate letters you have sent me ; all of which, except one, have come to hand safe ; and I am now as happy as a man can be, whose dearest, and almost his only comfort is withheld from him, at least for some time. My last letter was written in my usual querulous style ; but hereafter you shall never hear of an apron-string ; it shall be a

chain mental and invisible; in token of which I sent to you that which you term an elegant present. I have bought a watch for G. M. which shows the hours on one face, and the day of the month, day of the week, and name of the month on the other face; Mrs. Imlay will take it over. You see, however, how dangerous it is to let me be too rich. * * * I do not know what to say on the subject of America, for although you are my only treasure, and that like the miser, I would feast my eyes with it every hour of my existence, and ever think those lost which are separated from you; yet I cannot request that you would change your situation, unless all hopes of our meeting otherwise were precluded, and even then is there no spot which would not cost you the same pain to go to, and would equally keep me out of harm's way? * * Do you remember an old Irish curate? he is alive and well, and walked into town to see me. His brother was robbed and murdered in the house with him; he then left both it and the curacy, which was about six months since, very fortunately for him. * * How gratefully do I feel to H. J. for his kindness to you! I yesterday saw in a shop a boy so like our William, that I could have almost caught him in my arms and kissed him; he was somewhat taller and a little yellower. I was buying a pair of shoes for my passage, and I am sure I paid too much for them; but I could not make my bargains.—And so, Madam, you say that a certain picture was never asked for so kindly, or with so much affection, before. Well! be it so, though I am not convinced of the fact; I will be inclined to believe it, when I see that it finds its way so as to hold me a little converse on the passage; however, the dread of its being lost prevents my desiring it to meet me, as without any risk it can be sent to Messrs.

Twamley and Co. Philadelphia. I shall embark in the very first ship that sails after my arrival at the sea-port, without regarding for what port the vessel is bound ; and in this I am sure I am right, so many things fall out between the cup and the lip, and this is not to be left to hazard. Let me assure my dearest love, that the greatest happiness I have in the world is her affection, which I shall ever strive to repay.

“ JAMES THOMSON.”

Mr. Rowan, while in Paris, was naturally anxious to know the fate of Jackson, with whom he had been a fellow-prisoner, and how Tone and his compeers were proceeding in their political projects. From Mrs. Rowan, however, he obtained small gratification on these topics. She wished to divert his mind from public concerns altogether ; and in her letters, which were frequent and copious, she enlarges on the imprudence of discussing political questions in his situation, and the danger to which it would expose their most earnest hopes and wishes, should he be found again intermeddling with the affairs of Ireland. That she should express herself strongly in regard to T. (Tone), as the reader may have remarked in an extract quoted from her correspondence, is only what might be expected from a lady of her excellent understanding. Though warmly attached to the principles of rational and constitutional liberty, she never could carry her ideas to such extravagant lengths as Tone declared he had in contemplation, viz. “ to subvert the

tyranny of (what he called) an execrable government, to break the connection with England, and to assert the independence of his country ;” objects to which, had there been any just reason for attempting their accomplishment, he was totally incompetent. Volatile and frivolous, “and eternally surrounded by the mist of visionary speculations,” he was ill adapted to gain the confidence of minds more intelligent than his own ; and the consequence was, as he himself acknowledges, that he had very little sway among the United Irishmen, though he was the originator of their society. “The club was scarcely formed,” he says, “before I lost all pretensions to any thing like influence in their measures. * * I soon sunk into obscurity in the club.” Sir Jonah Barrington informs us that Tone was called to the Irish bar ; but had been previously over-rated, and did not succeed. He was too light and visionary ; and as for law, was quite incapable of imbibing that species of science. “It is my belief,” says he, “that he could not have succeeded in any steady civil profession. He was not worldly enough, nor had he sufficient common sense for his guidance. His person was unfavourable, his countenance thin and sallow, and he had in his speech a harsh guttural pronunciation of the letter *r*.” That he was resolved and persevering, and wished to die the death of a soldier, cannot be denied ; but wisdom and discretion, and an aptitude of adjusting means to the end, are more requisite than animal courage for the conduct

of such great designs as those for which Tone sacrificed his life. He seems, like many of his contemporaries, not to have considered, that there is a moral power in nations more efficacious in effecting salutary changes and improvements in governments than physical force. Mrs. Rowan, as a wife and mother, could not but regard with feelings amounting to detestation, a man whom she beheld as one who, by his cunning and address, had inveigled her husband and the father of her children to embark in schemes, which, after having brought him into imminent peril of an ignominious death, and driven him into exile, threatened them with the forfeiture of their property, and their consequent reduction from a state of affluence, elegance, and refinement, to a condition not to be contemplated without agony.

As for the unfortunate Jackson, he lay in prison more than a year, and endeavoured to lessen the tedium of confinement with a wish, we may hope, to benefit society and serve the cause of religion, by writing an answer to Paine's "Age of Reason." At length he was brought to trial for high treason, and found guilty, principally on the evidence of Cockaine. Shrinking from the shame of a public execution, he resolved, by suicide, to anticipate the stern minister of law. "I was in the court," says Sir Jonah Barrington, "when Mr. Jackson was brought up to receive sentence of death; and I believe whoever was present must recollect it as one of the most touching scenes which appeared during

that eventful period. He was conducted into the usual place where prisoners stand to receive sentence. He was obviously much affected as he entered ; his limbs seemed to totter, and large drops of perspiration rolled down his face. He was supposed to *fear death*, and to be in great terror. The judge began the usual admonition before he pronounced sentence. The prisoner seemed to regard it but little, appearing abstracted by internal agony. This was still attributed to apprehension. He covered his face, and seemed sinking. The judge paused ; the crowd evinced surprise ; and the sheriff, on examination, declared the prisoner *too ill to hear* his sentence. Meanwhile the wretched culprit continued to droop ; and at length, his limbs giving way, he fell ! A visitation so unexampled created great sensation in the court. A physician was immediately summoned ; but too late ; Jackson had eluded his denouncers, and was no more."

" It was discovered, that previous to his coming into court, he had taken a large quantity of arsenic and aquafortis mixed in tea. No judgment, of course, was pronounced against him. He had a splendid funeral ; and, to the astonishment of Dublin, it was attended by several members of parliament and barristers ! A Mr. Tighe, and Counsellor Richard Guinness were amongst them." —Vol. ii. pp. 121, 122.

Mr. Rowan kept a journal for Mrs. Rowan, of his passage to America, which being long and

tedious, afforded him much time for reflection, though he suffered no small annoyance from some of his fellow-passengers. These were a Creole lady of St. Domingo, who was always eating, or sp—ng, singing, or crying; a lubberly, impertinent son, about eighteen, whom he designates by the name of Lumpkin; a daughter of about twelve; and a maid, who was much better pleased to be attended by the sailors than to attend her mistress: a *ci-devant*, as she styled herself, with two daughters who played on the harp, but could neither read nor write;* an old captain of a merchant-man; and a wealthy couple, with a young child, and a maid: also a youth, of about fourteen, whom Mr. Rowan took under his protection, on account of their mutual friend Mr. Russell, whose house had been burned by the Birmingham rioters at the same time as Dr. Priestley's, and who, when emigrating to America, had been captured, and kept in prison till after the death of Robespierre. He describes the ship Columbus as stout, but one of the worst sailors on the Atlantic; a character which she sustained by the length of time she took to complete her voyage. As the cabin was much crowded, he preferred the steerage, where he messed with the captain; "and here," says he, "I have my

* Mr. Rowan having seen much to disgust him in the conduct of this woman, asks, "If she be a fair sample of the aristocracy of France, can we be astonished at the dreadful chastisement which the Almighty has permitted to fall on their heads?"

cot slung in the middle ; my déjunié, writing-box, and trunk, on the one side ; on the other, my two camp chairs and a little writing-table, where I am now seated writing to my love. Young Lumpkin has made frequent intrusions ; and indeed my fence is not a strong one, although it is the English flag hung across some hand-spikes. At length I wrote upon a piece of paper, which I pinned up against it, ‘ *Respectez les propriétés,*’ which, with the addition of the word ‘ *nationales,*’ is written over the gates and upon the walls of the houses of all those whose estates have been confiscated in France ; and since that time I enjoy my corner to myself and my dog Charles, to whom I have before introduced you.”

In recurring to the past, he acknowledges and laments his errors. “ I own to you candidly, when it is of no avail, that my ideas of reform, and of another word which begins with the same letter, are very much altered by living for twelve months in France ; and that I never wish to see either the one or the other procured by force. I have seen one faction rising over another and overturning it ; each of them in their turn making a stalking-horse of the supreme power of the people, to cover public and private massacre and plunder ; while every man of virtue and humanity shuddered and skulked in a disgraceful silence. I hope the party which was in power when I left Paris will conduct itself better, and profit by experience. I know, however, some very good men who have their doubts. You know there were some lengths to which I never

went ; and I am sorry to find your opinion of one who did, so bad."

We had been two days at sea when we were brought to by a British frigate, the *Melampus*. The officer who boarded us examined the ship's papers, and went into the hold with the captain. On returning to the quarter deck, he accosted me, saying, "Your name is Thomson, sir ; I understand this cargo belongs to you." I answered, "Only a part." He asked me from what part of America I came. I replied, "From Charleston ; but going to settle in Philadelphia." I mentioned South Carolina, as from the visit I had formerly paid that province with Lord Charles Montagu, I was the better able to answer any further questions he might put to me. However, he only asked me a few general questions concerning the state of France, and how the French passengers who were on board had procured permission to leave the country. I told him what appeared to me to be the fact ; that having opened nearly all the prisons, a scarcity of bread in the towns made it desirable to get rid of as many discontented mouths as they could, and our cargo was chiefly aristocratic. We were now up under the stern of the vessel, and I retired to the cabin, which I thought it most prudent to do, as I found that the ship he belonged to was commanded by my old Cantab friend, Sir John Borlase Warren.*

* It is stated in the *Quotidienne*, as quoted in the newspapers,

June 7th. I recommence, as usual, during a calm which has succeeded six days of very tempestuous weather. We have kept much to the northward, in order to avoid the Algerines, who, we understand, have been set on by the British court to cruize against the Americans.

June 13th. Since I last had the pen in hand, we have had nothing but foul winds or calms.

that the celebrated Prince Talleyrand had a similar adventure, in somewhat similar circumstances :—"In 1792, when the celebrated diplomatist, then a secret agent from some parties in France, was compelled to quit London in twenty-four hours, he embarked on board a Danish vessel, which was to convey him to the United States. At sea the vessel met with an English frigate, which made a signal to her to lie to, and sent an officer in a boat to inspect her, the principle of England in time of war being, that a neutral flag protects neither persons nor goods of a hostile power. Talleyrand, who had an insuperable dislike to be taken back to England, implored the Danish captain not to declare him, and the officer could devise no other expedient than to pass him off as the ship's cook. After some wry faces, Talleyrand consented to the captain's proposal, and with a very ill grace assumed the cotton cap, kitchen-apron, and carving-knife, and other appendages in keeping with his new office. When the English officer boarded the vessel, and demanded in the usual terms if there were any French officers on board, the captain replied boldly that there was "only one poor devil of a limping French cook," who being immediately called on for inspection, Talleyrand made his appearance, saucepan in hand, and with such a piteous countenance, that the English officer laughed heartily, and consented not to make a capture of him. M. Watersdorf, the Danish ambassador under Buonaparte, is said to have been acquainted with this anecdote, and to have invariably brought it on the *tapis* whenever he felt a grudge against the ex-Bishop of Autun."

When this lump of a Columbus will carry us in, God only can tell. These days, however, have not been without their occurrences. Tony Lumpkin has been rambling in the night, and the captain having detected him at the cabin of his friend's daughter, sent him to his birth with a little more than a flea in his ear.

June 24th. About ten days of contrary winds, or of gusts, which would have been favourable, had they not been so heavy that we could not profit by them. The cap of the main-mast having given way, we dared not carry more than a reefed topsail for about a fortnight. I have suffered dreadfully with the lumbago. The person with a wife and child, whom I mentioned before, belongs to the island of Guadaloupe. He and I are the only two that are ever seen with a book or a pen in the hand, and the rest ludicrously call us the two philosophers. Besides the letter which I am writing to my beloved, I have other occupations. I amuse myself translating different pamphlets which I brought with me, and I have copied one out for you ; it is the speech of Madam Roland before the revolutionary tribunal. The picture which has been given me of her person in Paris, resembles you extremely. She had the highest esteem and regard for Roland ; but she did not love him. She had even determined to profit by the laws of divorce, and would have been united to a member of the Convention, who was proscribed on the 31st of May by Robespierre's party, but has been

so fortunate as to escape. It is said that Lanthenas is the name of that person. Besides this occupation I am a sempstress, and have made myself near a dozen pair of socks, besides mending shirts, stockings, trowsers, &c. We have now no appearance of land or any thing like it, and all our provisions are coming very short, except bread, of which fortunately there is plenty on board. According to Captain Dillon's account, I think we shall always have foul weather ; for he says that "as soon as you get into the latitude of the Western Islands, bad weather ! as soon as you are in the parallel of their longitude, bad weather ! as soon as you get into the longitude of Bermuda, bad weather ! as soon as you are in the Gulf Stream, bad weather ! and to crown the whole, frequent gusts when you are on soundings."

June 28th. This day, early in the morning, a sail was perceived ahead, and the captain, whose reckoning brings us much nearer to land than any other symptoms seem to indicate, resolved to speak her. As she was directly ahead, we went nothing out of our road, and were extremely pleased to find that we gained on her considerably. About ten o'clock the captain, upon looking through his glass, said he wondered what the devil she was about, for that her sails were in the utmost confusion ; at last he concluded that she was a cruiser whose destination was to remain upon soundings, on the edge of which he supposed himself to be, and that, perceiving we shaped our course towards her, she

was lying to for us. Soon after he perceived that she was not a frigate, and concluded her to be a whaler who had a whale alongside, and was occupied in cutting it up; and her leaning much more on one side than the wind which then blew would occasion, favoured this last opinion. He next declared that he saw her colours up, and for the first time he suspected that some accident had happened, and that she wanted assistance. We now braced up the yards, and took all those steps which were in appearance called for; but while this was doing, judge of our emotion, when we saw her gradually lean more and more, until, in the space of about half a minute, she entirely disappeared. The captain cried out that she had foundered, and at the same time ordered every sail to be set, in hopes of saving the crew at least. The boat was unlashed and prepared for hoisting, when the men in the tops cried out that they saw a boat, in which three masts were rigged, and besides which there appeared to be a raft. This in a great measure allayed our fears for the safety of the crew; and the captain said he hoped they had taken the precaution to bring some beef and water with them, for we had bread enough. I could not help thinking the wish was somehow ill-timed, while we were yet so uncertain of the fate of the crew; his anxiety, however, proved sufficiently that it was not want of feeling for their distress, but a proper foresight, which seafaring persons naturally acquire. As we approached the vessel, it was perceived by

the glass that what was supposed to have been a raft, was the broad side of the vessel, which had overset, but had not yet sunk ; and what were supposed to have been the masts, were the yards of the three masts of the ship, which rose perpendicularly out of the water as she lay on her side. There was, therefore, no chance of saving any of the crew, except those who could either swim very well, or had clambered upon her side, or into her rigging, which, as there was only a light breeze, they might easily have done. The captain now declared he could see but one man upon her quarter, which man was found soon after to be a wooden gun. Three quarters of an hour had now elapsed, and we came alongside of her. There was no boat upon her deck, nor any living animals on board ; some water-casks and empty chests were floating about ; and the vessel, so lately the abode of man, was now nearly under water. All this caused melancholy reflections. Finding that no assistance could be given, the next thought on board was, whether any thing could be made by her ; but a fresh breeze springing up, and we having but one boat, it was determined to leave her where she was, though not without some little reluctance, as you may believe, when you hear that they estimated they might have got at least the value of five hundred pounds out of her. She appeared perfectly new, in excellent order, and had sixteen ports, but no name on her stern. She appeared to be a Spaniard, Dane, or Swede.

The wind which now blows, if it continues, will, they say, bring us in with the land immediately. The *if* in the above line was well inserted, for the most violent gust of wind I ever felt did not equal the storm which commenced a few hours after we parted from the wreck. It lasted about eight hours, during the greater part of which time our sails were furled, and we drove before the wind. The poor people who belonged to the ship we left, must have good fortune if they escaped the horrors of that night; God send they may! You may recollect my saying, that two circumstances had in my life made an effect upon me, which I had never felt at any other time, and could not attempt to describe: these were, the first person whom I saw executed, and the first balloon I ever saw go up with man. The emotion which I felt on seeing the ship go down, as I thought, was exactly similar. I ran down between decks, and Tony Lumpkin imagining I was going with the news, almost pushed me off the ladder in running by me, in order to announce to the females that a ship had perished in sight. All the passengers went up on the deck, and I was left alone, when I put up an ardent prayer to the Omnipotent for the safety of my dearest love, and almost swore that whatever should become of me, I never would consent

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I sometimes fret, and am grown thin; the clothes you last saw me in are now fully large enough; I keep them as a memento. The only

thing I had which belonged to my friend, I gave away before I left Ireland—it was the gold memorandum book. I fear that with all my friend's alacrity, she has not had information of my destination long enough to have sent me that same picture. I have twenty schemes for setting it, if it be not set ; but I think I shall have it mounted to hang round my neck ; and instead of a crystal to cover the picture, have it to shut up entirely, with this motto—*"I avow my idolatry, but I hide my idol."* As soon as I arrive in America, I shall make up a little package of presents. I fear I shall not be able to muster articles for every one of our little pugs. I have a gold pen and pencil, however, for William ; I have a very fine mother-of-pearl and paper lantern for whichever of the ladies is mamma's messenger ; and this, I shrewdly believe, is Harriet, *if she be not too fat*. I have a little dejuné for the corrector of my press, Jane. I have a gold-bladed and agate-handled powder-knife for mamma ; and a silver watch-chain, which William may give to Thom if he pleases. In short, I have very little ; but what little I have, or ever shall have, will be never so well used, or so pleasurably destined by me, as to you and them. It is thus I sometimes amuse myself ; at other times I curse my cruelty and harshness to you and them ; and with the most sincere sorrow I recollect that the last time William came to me to say his lesson, I gave way to my own agitated state of mind, and sent him away in anger. But of what avail now to recollect all

the little and all the great injustice of which I have been guilty. God bless you all ! Good night !

July 4th. We have this day spoken to a vessel from Europe, which has had even a longer passage than we ; and being in want of bread, we gave her some, and received in return some raisins, almonds, and a cask of anchovies, but no sugar was to be had. From this vessel we learned a melancholy piece of news : that about a week since, he fell in during the night with a long boat, which was upset, and which most probably was the one in which the crew of the vessel that we saw perish had attempted to escape from death. How short-sighted are mortals ! Two days of calm had probably induced the crew to quit the vessel ; whereas, had they stuck to her till we came up, they would have been saved. This vessel has spoken to several others, all of whom had very long passages.

July 10th. This morning we struck soundings, very much to the satisfaction of every person on board ; but the wind is neither very favourable nor strong, and the same wind which would drive another vessel five miles an hour, would not move the Columbus above two or three. Captain Dillon has been extremely attentive to me indeed ; and has made me every offer in his power to assist me on my arrival, in case letters have not arrived there before me. Owing to the length of the passage, I have been obliged to partake of many of his stores which I did not pay for laying in. I therefore have made him a present of my alarum watch,

which he had taken a great fancy for ; but I must add, he was made to accept of it with much difficulty. We have got provisions out of three vessels ; and the one we last spoke to has advised us to keep to the southward, as there are three Bermuda privateers which are cruising to the northward, and take and rifle every vessel they meet with coming from Europe. This news has been confirmed to-day, the 12th of *July*, by a vessel which bore down upon us, for the purpose of forewarning us. It is not very pleasant, if we remain much longer out ; and there is every appearance that we shall be out some time longer, for the wind, though not violent, is directly ahead, and has driven us quite off soundings again. I shall adopt the superstition of the sailors, and think we have a witch on board who ought to be thrown into the sea. These confounded French passengers will assuredly cause our being stopped, if we should be met by any English privateer, independent of the piratical Bermudans. The vessel which spoke to us said she had seen a brig come into Charleston, which had been plundered of every thing by these same pirates under English flags and English protection. When will nations learn better conduct ? or when will the same morality which is the guide of individuals become the rule of nations ?

July 14th. We have at this moment almost a fair wind ; but it will take us at least two days to regain what we have lost by running out of our course ; and as we have never yet had any fair

wind which lasted forty-eight hours, I own I have no great expectations from this little spurt in our favour. Good God ! how anxious I should be, were I returning to Ireland, instead of going to Philadelphia, and leaving every thing I hold dear behind me ! I should count the hours and leagues with far other emotions than I now experience. How happy would I be to compound never to stir out of the demesne of Rathcoffey, if my friend was contented to share the solitude with me, rather than expose her to even the disagreeable necessity of meeting me on the Continent, much less experience the various vicissitudes and disagreeablenesses, not to speak of the dangers, of crossing the Atlantic !

I could not help laughing just now at the captain. You know the sailors are famous for changing one word into another. We were talking of the consequence of our being taken : he said we should be carried into Bermuda for *education* ; and it was some time before I found out that it was for *adjudication* in the admiralty court, as to the legality of the capture. We have been upon soundings again, and are again taking that course which must drive us off. If it were not that the winds are plainly unfavourable, I should suspect that we were dancing about to prolong a scene of pleasure. It is fortunate that we picked up a puncheon of rum in the early part of our voyage ; for had it not been for that piece of good fortune, in which I think I have a right to share, I should

be reduced to rain-water, well saturated with the tar of the rigging, and the dirt of the deck from whence it was collected, instead of my glass of grog. I shall, probably, write no more until we are within sight of land, for my packet is becoming too bulky, and God knows may never come to hand.

I had scarcely written the above when a sail appeared in sight; and from its shape, rigging, and manœuvres, the captain was certain that it was one of those Bermuda pirates. He bore down upon us as much as the wind, which at that time was unfavourable, would permit. The captain and all the passengers began to conceal their little valuables as well as they could, and waited the event not without some degree of anxiety. However, we were either mistaken in her manœuvres, or our fears had made her course appear to be towards us, when in reality she was going about her own business; for as the evening closed, we lost sight of her entirely; and this morning, the 15th of *July*, we came up with a pilot-boat at break of day, and this evening we have fairly entered the river, and have land on both sides of us, and a fair wind.

Philadelphia, 18th July, 1795. Here I am at a boarding-house since last night. The small trunk has arrived; the contents of which are most acceptable. Your picture is not spoiled, but has had a most narrow escape, for the crystal on both sides is fractured; but it will be easily repaired. The addition of the hair, including my father's, was

very kind, as was also the list of clothes, containing almost all the letters of the alphabet. I shall at leisure spell them, and put them together into all the kindest expressions of our language.

21st July. I have dined with Mr. Heyward and his wife; both extremely civil; and with Major Butler from Carolina; he is of the patriotic party here; but as he is a man of good sense, good manners, and good fortune, he is respected by all. I am confounded by the various accounts I hear of Irish affairs. How often have I said, and to Wolfe particularly, that instead of prosecution and persecution, if they had a mind to destroy the United Irishmen, Volunteers, &c. they had only to do justice to the Irish Catholics!

My first residence in Philadelphia, [resumes the Memoir] was in a house where several members of Congress boarded and lodged. Among these were the senior Mr. Adams, who succeeded Washington in the presidency, and Mr. Jackson, since then the President of the United States. It had been my intention to have waited on the President; but being informed that Washington had declined receiving Talleyrand, I gave up that idea; and having determined on retiring into some country situation, I fixed upon Wilmington, in the state of Delaware, about thirty miles from Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XI.

Mr. Rowan received with kindness in America—Anxious state of his mind—Correspondence with Mrs. Rowan and Major Butler—Occurrence with the Mayor of Chester—Parties in Philadelphia—Resides with a farmer near Wilmington—Acquires the friendship of John Dickinson, Cæsar Rodney, and other distinguished men—Purchases a Calico Manufactory—employs Aldred to manage the business—Removes to the banks of the Brandywine river—His house burned—Aldred puts off a settlement of accounts—Business declines—Factory broken up—Yellow fever.

[MR. ROWAN, immediately on his arrival in Philadelphia, found letters and parcels from his faithful and affectionate wife, and among them her picture, for which he had long been desirous. With her he kept up a constant correspondence, and lost no opportunity of consulting her on all his projects. He sought relief from his solicitude by making her the repository of his thoughts. Though eminently gifted with the power of gaining and attaching friends wherever he went, and though received in America, by men of the first distinction, with the most gratifying kindness and cordiality, he could not banish anxiety from his bosom. His want of useful occupation, his sense of dependence on the generosity of the friends he had left, of the injury he had done to his family, some disappointment, heavy expences, and occasional illness, added to the

poignancy of his feelings, which he could not disguise, sometimes sunk him into a state of despondence. Though he most intensely felt the pain of separation from his wife and children, he was too sensible of the inconveniences that would attend their removal to America, to insist on such a step being taken. Sometimes, however, he thought it might be hazarded, and that an estate might be purchased on moderate terms, in the improvement of which their days could be happily spent. The state of his mind is well represented by that of a well-known hero of epic song :—

“ *Magno curarum fluctuat æstu :
Atque animum nunc huc celerem, nunc dividit illuc,
In partesque rapit varias, perque omnia versat.*”

ÆN. viii. 18—21.

“ This way and that he turns his anxious mind ;
Thinks and rejects the counsels he designed ;
Explores himself in vain in every part,
And gives no rest to his distracted heart.”

DRYDEN.

After suggesting what might be done as to the occupation of an estate in America, he writes, “ Were it not the terrors of the sea, I would to God you were out here. The changes of climate from heat to cold are certainly to us, Europeans, very terrible ; but, upon the whole, it is a fine country, and there are great opportunities of settling a young brood ; and although expensive, we could get some place in the country, and be very

happy." Again he adds, "If you are not disposed to do this, tell me in what town of Europe I shall meet you and my dear children, and I will not be long in getting there ; for here alone I will not stay, unless I can do something to benefit those whom I have hitherto only injured."

" Philadelphia, August 1, 1795.

" Mr. Tone has bought an hundred acres of ground. The situation is pleasant, and within two or three miles of Princetown, where there is a college and some good society. Tandy arrived here about a fortnight or three weeks since ; he has got a lodging in the same house with me, and of course we mess together ; but I need not tell you that his society does not make up for what I have lost, never, perhaps, to regain. I have seen but one handsome woman since I came here ; and she is from Shropshire, and something like the wife of A. H. Rowan.

" *August 6.* My situation is irksome. The house I am in is crowded by captains of ships and English riders, each more impertinently inquisitive than the other. Major Butler has been very obliging, and is assisting me all in his power to get into a private family. I will not stay in America. As to your coming out here, climate, manners, the exorbitant rate of every thing, the dangers of the sea, the want of education for the children, all forbid it.

" *September 7th.* Had I landed in such weather as we have now had for a few days, I should not, perhaps, have written to you in so dispiriting a style as I did concerning America, and your joining me here. However, I am not now going to make its eulogy. The people say that the heat has been greater (it was for two days within

one degree of blood-heat,) than the oldest persons had remembered.* Tone seems determined to return; and Reynolds wishes it sincerely, but amuses himself with the politics of America, and is as busy, as sincere, and as zealous as he was in Kilmainham. He has also some practice, which relieves his mind. The governor of this State has been very polite; I have been twice out at his country-house; and he took me yesterday evening down the river to shoot reed-birds.† You have heard me speak of the rice-bird of Carolina; this is equally delicious. There is a museum here, which, as it is in the State house, I took to be national, and it gave me a most horrid idea of the country, not from the few curiosities, but from their dirty, careless arrangement. I have since found that it belongs to an individual, to whom the State gives the use of the room, and he receives a quarter dollar from each visitor. The library is handsome enough. General Washington now lives at times in the town. There were

* In a subsequent letter he says, "The climate here partakes, in the twenty-four hours, of all the degrees of heat and cold between the equator and the pole."

† *Emberiza Oryzivora*.—WILSON. "Though small in size, he is not so in consequence; his coming is hailed by the sportsman with pleasure; while the careful planter looks upon him as a devouring scourge, and worse than a plague of locusts. Three good qualities, however, entitle him to our notice, particularly as these three are rarely found in the same individual: his plumage is beautiful, his song highly musical, and his flesh excellent. These birds are supposed by some of our epicures to equal the ortolans of Europe. As soon as the seeds of the reed are ripe, they resort to the shores of the Delaware and Schuylkill," where they are slaughtered in multitudes. It appears from Wilson, that the rice-bird and reed-bird are the same, in different stages of their age and plumage.—ED.

in his hall the busts of the King and Queen of France ; but upon Genet, the French minister, complaining of the *offensive sight*,* whenever he went to wait on the President, they were removed. A bust of Paul Jones alone adorns the stair-case. There is a petition set on foot, and distributed through all the states for signature, stating the infringement of the constitution in the late treaty with Britain, and appealing to the Congress to take cognisance of it in the name of the people."

" *September 21st.* I have met with more than civilities ; I have met with a degree of friendship here which I could not have conceived. The governor, General Mifflin, has been particularly attentive ; he says I am melancholy, and that he will drive it out of me ; that I am formal, and he will not be treated with formality. Major Butler and his family I have mentioned before ; as also Heyward's most kind offer of his services, purse, and all. The weather has changed considerably ; the thermometer fell thirty degrees in twenty-four hours. We now sit by the fire. Reynolds gets a little business, and is a great politician ; he will be a citizen of America shortly, as he arrived here before the enactment of a late law which prolongs the time of probation to five years. No wonder that the cap of liberty offended our folk, for a print of General Washington could not be sold here, be-

* This anecdote of Citizen Genet, envoy from the French republic, is highly characteristic ; being, as TUCKER, in his *Life of Jefferson*, informs us, "an enthusiast in the new-born spirit of civil liberty, he was well qualified to cherish and increase the popular feeling in favour of France." But his conduct and his language became so offensive and insulting, and betrayed such contempt of the forms of diplomatic intercourse, that the American government were obliged to request his recall.—ED.

cause that cap was over it ; it had therefore to be erased, and a sun was placed in its stead.

MRS. ROWAN TO HER HUSBAND.

“ September 19th, 1795.

“ The joy I felt at hearing my dearest friend had arrived safely at the place of his destination was beyond any thing of the kind I had ever experienced, for it at once relieved me from a load of anxiety which I was scarcely able to bear. Equal to my pain was my pleasure when the glad tidings did at last arrive, so that in reality I was repaid for my sufferings. Heaven grant it may be the same in all cases ; for to think that your being so far removed from me should be the source of pleasure, brings with it many unpleasant reflections ; but then I drive them away by recollecting that if we both live a little longer, we shall meet. While that hope is before me, I can struggle with any misfortune ; but were that taken away, all my fortitude would be at an end ; so you see your poor friend, like many others, ceases to be a heroine when the truth is known ; for when the heart is entirely engaged by one dear object, every thing that does not relate to it is by comparison trivial, and may be borne..... We seldom act wrong without finding an excuse for it, sufficient, perhaps, to satisfy ourselves, but seldom any body else ; thus it is with you, my best beloved, for surely if you reflect for one moment, you will see that the trivial things you mention, if they had not been provoked by your own conduct, were not a reason for your acting as you did. The truth is, all your faults originated from your connecting yourself with wicked and artful men, who cared not for you nor any body else ; and did I not

think you had been misled in this way, I should most certainly have a very different opinion of you from that which it is my sincere wish ever to retain ; and now, for mercy's sake, give up all ideas of reforming the state in any way, however peaceable it may be ; because it is really better for us to stay as we are, than run the risk of being worse, which would most likely be the case. It is a business with which you must never meddle, and of which I should have supposed you had been already sick. It is with the highest satisfaction I learn that your residence in France has so altered your opinions on political subjects. No person, indeed, who knew you well, could doubt that when you were removed from those whose interest it was to deceive you, both your head and your heart would lead you to see things, as you now do, in their true colours. It would have been well, most certainly, had this happy change been brought about at a less price than it has cost you ; but all we can do now is to make the best of it. You say there are lengths you never went ; I should be glad, were it possible, to know what this means, because it is understood you went every length. The arch-deceiver, T——, has quit the country, and it is to be feared he may go where you are. I think it my duty to say that, if this should be the case, you ought to avoid all connection with him ; and it is as well to say at once what is the fact—*his friend cannot be mine* ; his wicked principles and artful manners have destroyed us. There let a subject which I detest end.....

“ I rejoice that you have received the picture, and long to know if you think it like. You mistake as to any of the hair being your father's ; for well as I know your affection for him, still I should not think of putting his and mine together. A few days after we parted, several

hairs, whiter than age almost ever makes them, appeared on my forehead; this, no doubt, was occasioned by sorrow,* for it soon ceased; my maid pulled them out, and there was enough to have made a small plat..... I read most part of your long letter to my little friends, W. and J. *He* wept in silence; but *she*, who is all feeling, threw herself on my neck and sobbed out, 'Father does not forget us.'.....W. (afterwards Captain Hamilton) still continues handsome; his height is five feet three inches, and he is strong in proportion. He is truly a good child, and very easily guided by me; at least he shows much good sense, and a strength of mind I very much like. As for Jane, her mind and heart are both of the first order.".....

"*October 27th.* I trust in heaven we shall yet be happy with each other. As to the confiscation of our property, it cannot take place before next month, at the very soonest, and on that subject my hopes are very good; and I do declare that at this moment the greatest uneasiness and dread I feel are, lest you should come to Europe, or endanger yourself in some other way; so if you stay quietly where you are, and do not meddle with politics, which I am sure you will not, all will be well, and the moment any thing is determined on you shall know it. In my idea, you would be happier with Priestley than where you are; Reynolds and Tone are not exactly the people you ought to make your constant companions; though there is no reason for absolutely

* The sufferings sustained by Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, caused the hair on her forehead to become white as snow. She was only in the thirty-eighth year of her age when led to the guillotine.

shunning even Tone ; however, you ought to be aware of him, and I hope he will not again fall in your way..... Your letter to Neilson (by accident, I assure you, supposing the packet was all for me,) I opened ; I am glad, however that I did ; for had he got it, the contents would, most surely, have been in the N. S. (*Northern Star*) which would have been very improper. I shall therefore keep it, unless you absolutely insist on its being sent. The rest shall go as directed..... This is the third long letter I have written, and you shall hear from me every opportunity, which is the less favour, as writing is now as easy to me as to yourself, and a great deal of my time is employed in it, for the agency is in my hands, and I am quite a woman of business. But as writing to you never was a trouble, but at all times a pleasure, I mention this only to show that I have exerted myself in every way that I could be useful ; and those very exertions have preserved my health and spirits.

“ 28th. Since yesterday I have read over your letters several times, and reflected on them. The irritation and uneasiness you feel and express, strongly brings to my mind the state you were in for some time before you left this country. The cause is the same—the people you associate with ; whereas, while in France, the company you kept, I have some reason to think, were people of understanding, such as Bingham and Mrs. Wollstonecraft, and the consequence was, you saw your errors, and were anxious to do any thing that might alleviate the sufferings of your family and restore them to you ! You were melancholy, but not mad ; and conscious you were acting, as far as in you lay, rightly, you looked forward to happier days with confidence. You do not use your own understanding sufficiently, from some error in your edu-

cation or temper, but catch your opinions and ideas from those immediately about you. I am doubtful whether nature ever did intend you for a public character ; be that as it may, circumstances have made it highly improper for you to attempt being one now. Look not therefore for giddy applause from an unthinking multitude, which, in your situation, must be the cause of many unpleasant events ; respect your private character ; look only to that, and I flatter myself you will again be as happy as can be expected in this world.....I have thus expressed my sentiments pretty freely ; but remember you called for them, and said that my not being explicit is the cause that you have so often acted contrary to my opinion. It would, therefore, not be right to avoid giving them, although it must always be distressing to me to give you the smallest pain in any respect."

FROM MR. TO MRS. ROWAN.

" Wilmington, Delaware, January 14th, 1796.

" I do not promise to remain here ; indeed I cannot, disgusted as I am with the rough manners of the people ; the great expense of procuring those mental gratifications which are so superior to eating and drinking ; the universal rage of money-getting ; and the decided separation of parties. But what can I do ? I must be mad indeed, if I entertained any hope of returning to Ireland.....

" I do not dread the scolding you promise me in yours of the 28th, not yet come to hand. It is some time since, in one of my letters, I told you it was the manner in which I showed my attachment, and recommended the same mode to you ; so your anxiety that it should be announced to me was, as you see, unnecessary. You

have asked me, do I want any thing? and I have answered very ungallantly, although poetically, ‘Man wants but little here below.’ No, my dear, send me nothing, unless you order me to go to the woods and prepare a settlement: in that case, there is not a single thing of whatever size, sort, or value, that I would not advise to be brought out here.”

[In reply to Mrs. Rowan’s letter of the 28th October, Mr. Rowan assigns various reasons, which it is unnecessary to detail, for that irritation and restlessness which incurred her animadversions. “As to my sentiments,” says he, “they have been always nearly the same, as far as I can remember. The fact is, that from education and principle, I was led to assert, and attempt to support a reform of parliament, and equal liberty to all religious sects. Association may have, and certainly did lead me more into active life than I wished, was fit for, or will ever, in any case on this side of eternity, fall into again.”]

“ *Wilmington, February 20th, 1796.*

“It is true I have not been, nor ever can be, happy in America. But I see astonishing advantages to be derived from being here, of which I wish I could profit for the good of my family. Mr. Millar, the son of Professor Millar of Glasgow, who was introduced to me in Scotland by Muir, as a man of principle, is concerned with a Scottish company who have made a large purchase of lands here, and would be glad to induce some persons who were known, to be among the first settlers. Mr.

Russel also has lands in another part of America ; but with neither have I made any agreement.* Now let me assure you, that I am acting quite by myself, and contrary to advice ; for one wants me to remain in Philadelphia, and another, to buy a small farm in a settled country. But I will do neither ; I will go to the woods ; but I will not kill Indians, nor keep slaves. Good God ! if you heard some of the Georgians, or the Kentucky people, talk of killing the natives ! Cortes, and all that followed him, were not more sanguinary in the South, than they would be in North America.....I am just returned from Wilmington, where I was at two public dinners—that is, large parties of mixed company at private houses ; and last night at a little ball, where I was under the necessity of twice refusing the hands of two young ladies, who, by their uncle and father, had asked me to dance. After that, have I a right to complain of my situation in this country ? or, rather, ought not you to be a little jealous of your husband ?”

“ *Wilmington, April 16th, 1796.*

“The name of Washington must ever be dear to honest and virtuous minds ; although I am of opinion that he was in his zenith when he was first elected President on the establishment of the constitution ; and that the first retrograde motion was his re-acceptance of the Presidency after his first four years were over. I have been introduced by the wife of a Dr. Logan (to

* Major Butler made him a generous offer of 2,000 acres of unsettled land, on such terms as few, if any, who wished for a permanent residence in America, would not accept with avidity.—
ED.

which couple I owe much kind regard) to her kinsman, Mr. Dickinson, famous as the author of "*The Farmer's Letters*,"* and have been greatly pleased. He was bred to the bar ; since he has grown into years, he has adopted Quaker manners, but elegant withal. He is greatly opposed to the late British treaty ; but he says he wishes it may be carried into effect now it has been ratified.

" I tremble when you talk of this country ! I said, and I repeat it, it is a heaven for the poor and industrious ; but a hell, compared to any part of Europe, for any other rank of society. The climate, the manners, the state of society, the pride of wealth and ignorance, the great want of those conveniences which in Europe we find so easily administered to by the great population, which you are here either deprived of, or procure badly with great expense, are all against idlers coming here. Yet I wish you out of Ireland ; I dread the moment when ignorance and despair, without any one to appease or keep down the storm, may burst from their shackles. But we will hope the best. It was with this view I mentioned some neutral power's dominion, where we might meet. Here, unless we incurred great expense, we should not only be disregarded, but entirely deprived of all those comforts we might enjoy elsewhere. Major Butler gives his butler seventy guineas a-year ; he pays £300 for a house rather

* " The taxes imposed (on the Americans) in 1767, called forth the pen of John Dickinson, who, in a series of letters signed ' A Pennsylvania Farmer,' may be said to have sown the seeds of the revolution. Being universally read by the colonists, they universally enlightened them on the dangerous consequences likely to result from their being taxed by the parliament of Great Britain."—RAMSAY'S *History of the American Revolution*.—ED.

better than yours, without stabling.....Every thing to which the hand of man is put, immediately acquires an exorbitant price ; nor can it be otherwise, when a labourer gets a dollar per day, and is fed into the bargain.

“ The son of the Marquis La Fayette is here. There was an intention of making a proposal in Congress to make a provision for him at the expense of the public. This was put a stop to by Washington, lest it should give umbrage to the British. This may be false as to the motive, but I believe it ; and believing it, could I have presented myself at his levee, the only place he receives company ?

“ The influx of French has been of no service to American female morals ; and you know the French from the islands are always the most dissipated. I came down to this country hoping to get a lodging in a house, where I was fortunate enough to be disappointed ; for there has been a death, a birth, and then a marriage, besides a runaway match, within these four months, in the same house. I can tell you nothing of the American ladies, as I have seen but few.

“ *Wilmington, April 20th, 1796.* Circumstances which I could not foresee have rendered Philadelphia peculiarly irksome to me.....I find some malignant or ill-informed traveller has said to G. M. that I agitate politics here, which I know must not only make you think meanly of my sense, but also lightly of my love. I assure you, however, that, except on general topics, I scarcely open my lips. I had not been a fortnight in Philadelphia when two persons met me in a bookseller's shop ; the one lamented the infamous cruel treatment I met with in France, while the other congratulated me upon the cordial reception I had experienced there ; and each of these

gentlemen had his separate story from one who had received it *at my own mouth* !

When I came down here last winter, I brought a gun, and expected to have some amusement from shooting ; but one flask of powder is yet nearly full. I have also bought a boat, which I hope will not be so much money thrown away ; yet I must allow that I begin to sicken at having four miles to walk to it in the morning, and the same distance in the evening. It is not like my excursions on the Seine, where I could row the whole day, and be within a short walk of my bed at night. There are numbers of French at Wilmington, but they live entirely among one another, and generally dislike the Americans, who in every article, except money-getting, are *nonchalantes* to excess. The American youth are the most ill-behaved I have ever met with, not to say ill-natured, and they do not improve much when they come to be men. The freedom which they assume, without the least intention of being of service to those into whose situation they are making inquiries, or into whose company they intrude themselves, is most impertinent and insupportable."

" *May 4th, 1796.* From Philadelphia, which I leave certainly to-morrow.....I dined yesterday at Major Butler's with the famous traveller Volney,* and like him much ; and should have waited for another party, of which

* Dr. Priestley met with Volney in Philadelphia, and describes him as " the most self-consequential of men, but respected by the unbelievers." The Doctor having got a copy of the "*Ruins*," made some animadversions on it, with which Volney was by no means pleased. " He replied in an angry pamphlet, by which he did himself and his cause no sort of credit." " His behaviour on the occasion has been that of a pettish child, and not of a man."—RUTT'S *Life and Correspondence of Priestley*.

he and the Duke De Liancourt were to be, had I not been taken out of town by another invitation with which I could not dispense. I am in good health ; but I have not spirits : I feel an exertion to be necessary for every thing I do ; and the only resource left me, is to pour my mind forth to you. Here again I am at fault, for I recollect what evil my imprudence has brought upon you. Even the assurance of your love does not revive me. It almost darkens the light which your happiness would spread. For loving me you must and will be persecuted ! I am going on in the old tune ; so end with assuring you, that I must myself be devoid of every feeling of man, if my affection for you ever ceased, or can cease, in word or in deed."

" *Wilmington, Delaware, September 30th, 1796.* I continue faithful to my boat ; but in this land of liberty nothing is understood of *yours* or *mine* in that way ; so that my boat is nearly knocked to pieces by those who want it to bring hay from their marsh, or onions from the Jerseys to market, or take sheep to the pasture ; nay, while I was washing her out, and preparing for a fishing party, a man carried off my oars and sail ! There may be liberty here, and certainly the lowest class, when industrious, (for there are poor here as well as with you, but not miserably so) have a fine field to work upon for their advancement in life. Mr. Bell, one of the richest merchants in Philadelphia, to whom the ship that I sailed in belonged in part, told me he came into this country with only half a guinea ; he hired himself, or rather indentured himself for two years to a master, who occupied him in sawing wood, but was generous enough to give him up his indentures upon finding a clerk's place. In this situation his master permitted him to drive a small

traffic in groceries, &c. and this set him forward in the world ; but he has excellent sound plain sense, that sort of native wisdom, which is seldom so strong in any as in persons who have little or no education.....At this moment all the world is agitated by the election of a President, in the room of Washington. May they choose as honest a man ! But no man can ever command so unanimous a suffrage. Mr. Adams, the present vice-president, and Mr. Jefferson, are likely to be the two candidates ; and is it not a little remarkable, that all the eastern, that were the great republican states, are in favour of Adams, who not only wrote and voted for monarchical government, but since the establishment of the present constitution, which forbids all hereditary honours, brought into the house a motion to establish them ; while the southern states support Jefferson—themselves and he slave-holders, but great republicans—and at the revolution much less in earnest than the eastern states ? It is thought the votes will be pretty nearly equal. The president has, in the act of his resignation, given some offence, by a dissertation on parties, and as in that instrument he has defended his whole administration, he has left his opponents something to chew.....The revolution in this country has done amazing good ; but I see the same attachment to the present constitution, and reverence for it, with abuse of its opponents, or rather of the reformists, as exists in our own country in favour of the British constitution. Indeed I think it too young to brag so much of ; and as you paid your guineas for Randolph's defence, you will not think very highly, I believe, of the men who have been leaders ; except Washington, whose integrity and honour are unimpeached.

“ I return to my boat. I was extremely astonished at

being broken in upon by a person who still further excited my admiration by asking leave to take the boat. The answer was, 'Yes, with pleasure.' 'But,' replied he, 'she is full of dirt; how shall I get her cleaned?' By G—, he wanted me to go down and wash her out for him!!!

"The winter seems to be setting in; the weather raw, cold, gusty, and even frosty. What various accidents have befallen the articles you so kindly sent out for my amusement! An awkward fiddling Yankee has broken my walking watch; another has sat down upon the poor camera and crushed its guts out. Should you persist in coming here, I again say, bring every thing at any expense. Every thing is free of duty, when brought for their own use by persons coming to settle."

"*Wilmington, October 5th, 1796.* Dollars are the grand object with the natives here.* They have to get

* In another letter he asks, "What would you propose to yourself in this country, where, if I had a child unchristened, whom I wished to be caressed, I would call him DOLLAR!" Mr. Rowan was precisely such a character as would be most sensibly struck by the prevalence of the propensity which he condemns, and which is by no means confined to the country in which he found it so largely developed. An American author, in a recent work entitled "*The Old World and the New*," observes not less truly than patriotically—"If we are a people eager for gain, though I have no doubt that this national trait is exaggerated, yet it cannot be denied that we are equally willing to scatter abroad the fruits of our industry. Meanness certainly is not one of our national vices. If we talk much about dollars, though really I cannot, in this respect, see much difference between us and other nations, except in the value of the catch-word coin, "*un sous*" in France, "*un paolo*" in Italy, "*a shilling*" in England, being about as conspicuous in conversation as "*a dollar*"

them, and when acquired, they are as proud as Montmorency. Butler's family are calumniated, because they do not associate indiscriminately. I do not say, however, that there are no agreeable persons to be found ; but they are so rare, and it is so nearly impossible to keep off the others, that I still think the woods the most eligible situation. But the woods with a young family will not be fair towards them. My reason for mentioning Switzerland was partly on their account ; we should be able to amuse ourselves, or retire. But will every thing remain quiet in Switzerland ? I am persuaded that in some of the Cantons they are only waiting to see the establishment of the French republic, to reform their government. My dread that our separation would last for ever becomes daily stronger : the last declaration of the French Directory confirms me in it. How am I to join you ? and still more arduous is the question, how can you join me ? In the present state of affairs, both are impossible. The French are disgusted at the American government ; and if their arms continue successful, and the American policy should not alter, we may see this continent a theatre of war between the French and English. Both parties have strong advocates here. I think Mr. Adams will be the president ; and he is supposed to lean to Britain, as do almost all the members of the government. In the late

with us ; yet if this unlucky word does roll with such provoking facility from our lips, where, I should like to know, does the thing itself roll so freely from the hand as in America ? Pity it is—for I care more for improvement at home, than reputation abroad—that something more of this boundless profusion of expense could not be directed from its present course to the encouragement of the arts.”—ED.

elections, what is called the republican party have been defeated by the federalists.....A more severe charge than being concerned in the republication of the proceedings of M. T. might have been made against me, upon most plausible grounds, viz. the encouragement of desertion in the British navy, by giving a certificate and recommendation to thirty or forty persons who said they had deserted from the fleet on this station. Luckily a gentleman in Maryland stopped the bearers and took the paper from them, knowing it not to be my handwriting. Having obliged them to confess that a school-master in this town had forged it for them, he sent it to me. This would have been a charming story for my friends in your island.....Poor Priestley has lost his wife. The papers say that he is invited to Leyden; and from our conversations, I think that he would accept of the situation, unless pecuniary matters oblige him to remain on this side of the Atlantic."*

"*November 1.* Butler is as much disgusted with this country as every man must be who has lived in Europe; and according to his account of his expenses, I think he

* Dr. Priestley writes to the Rev. T. Lindsey, that the funeral of his wife took place on Sept. 19, 1796. He says to Belsham, "I know nothing of the invitation to Leyden, or of the Duchess of York's Unitarianism." The name of Dr. Priestley occurs repeatedly in the correspondence of Mr. and Mrs. Rowan; both of whom felt an interest in his welfare, which, it may well be presumed, was fully reciprocated by the persecuted philosopher. When the latter was about to embark for America, he received an address from the United Irishmen, containing the following passage:—"Farewell: but before you go, we beseech a portion of your parting prayer to the Author of good for A. H. Rowan, the pupil of Jebb, now suffering imprisonment."—RUTT's *Life and Correspondence of Priestley*.

could live for one-half more comfortably, and in as good, if not in a better style, than he does here. It is not the soil or climate of Ireland that I regret, but the society. The aristocracy of wealth here is insupportable, for it is mixed with the grossest ignorance. In this indeed I should be better off than *you*; for the men in general are more supportable than the women, although the latter do all in their power to make themselves agreeable.....Have I said that I feel embarrassed when writing to you? It is because the life I lead presents me with few diversities, and I dwell too much, perhaps, upon the probable events of times like these, so black, so melancholy! It is not the seizing of a few printers that will prevent the effects of the invention of printing; to which I trace the present posture of affairs in Europe. Knowledge has been much disseminated; and there will be many theories and theorists destroyed before we arrive at that state of government with which a people ought to be contented, and which they ought to support as being of equal benefit to all ranks of society. I think this country is most free from speedy convulsion; but here the law department is as much a burthen on the people, and the rich man is as sure to gain his cause, or to weary out his poor antagonist, as with you. There are about ten lawyers in this state, whose population does not exceed 50,000, and one of them the other day assured me he made £1,500 per annum. But what do you think of his patriotism, when he gives up at least £700 per annum in order to serve his country in Congress? It is true he joins the side that is uppermost, and which is not composed of the men who stood forward in the times which tried men's souls.

“ I have mentioned to you the two houses which I mostly frequent in this town, Mr. Dickinson's, and Miss

Vining's. As to their families, Mrs. D. is an invalid, and seldom to be seen : there are two daughters—the eldest, they say, has a mind to become a preacher ; for they are *Friends*, as the Quakers here are called. You asked me for seeds ; but you do not say whether of shrubs, flowers, or of forest trees. I have a promise from Mr. Dickinson, that he will write to Mr. Marshall, a kinsman of his and a great botanist, to put me in the way of getting some, or perhaps furnish me ; and I wish I may get them time enough to send by a ship of Mr. Barclay's. And now for Miss V.—eternally gabbling French ; she is never happy unless when talking of the Compté de Lucerne, the Duc de Biron, and other French nobles who were here during the revolution. She wears rouge from her chin to the crown of her head, I believe, and is about fifty.....I have removed from my cot below stairs to a settle-bed above, which is the wonder of beholders, and will make me excellent brawn, if I should die before the winter is over, for it is devilish hard lying.

“ *November 14th, 1796.* Poor Hayward died a week since, and his wanton widow is gone to gather up his fortunes. She expects about £30,000 ; but I understand her share will not amount to ten, as the widow, by the law of Carolina, can only inherit one-third, although he bequeathed the whole to her by his will. Did I ever mention how much he and she pressed me the first autumn I was in this country, to be of their family at Rhode Island, during the sickly season in Philadelphia ? I did not then know her character, which would have been a sufficient bar ; but at that time I was too much occupied in writing angry letters to my dearest friend, to think of any thing like parties of pleasure.....I send you a rather more elegant *bonbonnier* than the ivory one, which you may

wish to make a present of. Perhaps our friend Griffith would make it acceptable to his wife; but do as you please."

Some family affairs of importance demanding Mrs. Rowan's presence in England, she arrived in Chester on Saturday, December 31, 1796, a few days after the arrival of the French fleet in Bantry Bay. There an adventure occurred to her, of which she gave Mr. Rowan the following account :—

" On Sunday morning, after breakfast, I sat down to write to your father and Griffith. I had taken out many of my papers, in some of which the Chancellor's name was mentioned. Judge of my surprise then, when the man of the house came, and said Mr. Mayor was below and wished to see me. Without any hesitation, however, I desired he might be shown up. In he came, a poor old man, with white gloves, (he is a plumber by trade,) who seemed much more embarrassed than I; two other men were along with him; one of whom, almost the only one who spoke and had the manners of a gentleman, after making some apology, said that they requested to see my papers. I replied, I really did not understand what he meant. He said, he wished to examine my trunks and boxes, to see if I had treasonable papers in them; and then asked if I had any such, or sealed papers of any sort. I answered, that I had no sealed papers of any sort; and that I believed it was the first time it had ever been thought I was capable of assisting in carrying on a treasonable correspondence; nor had I been treated by the government of any country, as if they looked upon me to be a person of that description. It did not require

much sagacity to find out that this was a business undertaken by the corporation of Chester, of their own wise heads; for the spokesman now declared that 'it was a business Mr. Mayor had been very reluctant to undertake;' to which the poor Mayor continually replied, 'very reluctant indeed.' They asked if I knew the French fleet was at Bantry before I left Ireland. I said, doubtless I did. They asked, if I thought you were on board of it. I replied, they must be sensible that these were questions I need not answer; but that if it would give them any satisfaction, I would that instant take my oath before the mayor, that, to the best of my belief, you were in America; and I mentioned the date of the last letter I had at that time from you. I need not tell you that I have no papers that, on my own account, I cared all the world saw; but I had several notes and letters from Griffith which I did not choose to lay before the corporation of Chester; for though I knew any one of them would have made my tormentors sorry for the trouble they had given me, yet to have avoided a trifling or even a great inconvenience, I would not have had his name brought in question; yet I did not wish to avoid having my papers looked at, though it was plain I might have done so. I had heard General Johnson named with the utmost respect, as Commander-in-chief there, and judging that he was the first man in the town, and a gentleman, I very coolly said, that though I had no papers of the nature of those they came to look for, yet I had most certainly private letters which I did not like to have read; but that if General Johnson were sent for, he should, if he wished, see every paper I had. This asking to see the General seemed still more to increase my consequence with the Chester citizens. As he lived in a house

belonging to the hotel where I was, one of them went for him, and returned, saying he was not at home, but that when he came in he should be told I wanted to see him. Up they all three got to walk off, and up I stood and said, that as they had thought it worth their while to come to me at all, it was certainly worth their while to wait until General Johnson came; but if they would not do this, I insisted upon their locking up all my boxes and taking the keys with them. This I did, to prevent the possibility of its being said that I destroyed any papers. Down they sat, looking very foolish; and very soon after the General came in, with one of his aid-de-camps and my friend Hinchman, who was in a most furious passion, and talked loud and much in my defence. The General is a very old venerable looking man, and the first word I said to him, I perceived he was, unfortunately, uncommonly deaf. While Hinchman and he were talking, (for the Mayor and his men had gone off directly,) I took the aid-de-camp, who was luckily an intelligent, and apparently a good-natured young man, to one of the windows, showed him some of the letters that were lying on the table, and in a few words explained my situation, and my reason for not showing my papers to the Mayor. The aid-de-camp explained every thing to the General much quicker than I could have done. I showed him also some letters, and he expressed much concern at the trouble that had been given me, and having wished us a pleasant journey, withdrew. I then sat down, and wrote an account of the whole business to Griffith, and he sent my letter to the Chancellor. On Monday morning the General called on me, to ask if there was any thing he could do for me at Chester; for that he was going to ride, but would not leave town without letting me know.

Soon after this we set out, and reached our destination without any farther adventures."

FROM RICHARD GRIFFITH, ESQ. TO MRS. ROWAN.

" January 14, 1797.

" MY DEAR MADAM,

" Finding the report that Mr. Rowan was in the French fleet had gained ground, I came to Dublin on Wednesday last, and called on the Chancellor ; but not finding him at home, I wrote a letter to him explaining the cause of your journey, and inclosing your letter to me, dated 1st August last, which letter would be sufficient to convince me, if I had no other motive to believe it, that Mr. Rowan is incapable of joining in such an expedition against his native country. I wish very much that you would hasten your return to Ireland, as various foolish surmises are made, to account for your absence.....When you write to Mr. Rowan, I request you will desire him to send you an authentic document, signed by some noted magistrate, of his being somewhere in America on *Christmas-day*. The propriety of your producing such a document, as soon as possible, was suggested to me by a man high in power here.*

" I am, dear Madam, your sincere friend,

" RICHARD GRIFFITH."

* In reply to this request, Mr. Rowan writes—" I hope to get, and inclose it for you ; but the people here do not like *swearing* ; besides, Mr. Dickinson, the first character in this State, is of the Society of *Friends*. I wish there was a society of rational Quakers, and I would join them."

[As numerous false reports of Mr. Rowan's "sayings and doings" in America, were published both by enemies and mistaken friends, many of which reached his family, Mrs. Rowan became anxious to ascertain from other authority than her husband, how far they were to be credited, fearing that, from tenderness to her feelings, he might have concealed what it concerned her much to know. Accordingly she addressed a letter to Major Butler on the subject, at the same time requesting his candid opinion as to the expediency of her crossing the Atlantic. From him she received an answer in full accordance with Mr. Rowan's communications. He writes—"Your husband's every feeling—all his happiness seems centred in you and your children; he thinks of nothing else; he scarce speaks of any thing but of schemes for being restored to you; it is the theme of all his conversations with me. He leads a recluse life, and mixes little in society." As to America, he does not encourage the idea of her going thither. "Philadelphia is as dear as London. The servants are the worst on earth. Land is cheap, and in the country living is reasonable; but there is little or no cultivated society."]

Finding that the violence of party in Philadelphia, and what appeared to me the imprudent interference of some of my countrymen in their politics, which it was almost impossible to avoid, I rejoiced in my determination of quitting that

great and flourishing town, and went to board and lodge for the winter at the house of a farmer of the name of Armor, a plain honest man of the federal party, who lived on his own estate, about four miles from Wilmington. I expected that, during the frost, the walk back and forward would be pleasant; but my disappointment was great, when I found that the early sun rendered the roads worse than in the most rainy weather; and on returning home in the evening, until the moon rose it was totally dark, for in those latitudes there is little or no twilight.

[That he did not long continue to relish his new style of living appears from the following extract from his letters:—"Have I told you that I have at last found that I cannot with pleasure live for a constancy as an American farmer? I thought I should never find one less troublesome in eating than myself; but I do acknowledge that the style in which I have passed this winter, does not make me wish for another. Summer will do well enough. In the four or five months which I have passed with my farmer, I have not seen butcher's meat a dozen of times; and as I have told you that vegetables are *here* scarce and dear, you will easily believe we had none, except potatoes and Indian corn. I do not like the latter; but it is an amazing culture. Its progress is about five months from sowing to reaping, and it yields from thirty to fifty fold."]

I now had the honour of being received at the house of a most valuable and sensible man, John Dickinson, who was one of the first revolutionists of that country, and filled the highest honours of the state during the revolution, but had at this time retired from the bustle of politics with a most amiable family. One of his daughters afterwards married Dr. Logan, who was a leading man among the republicans. I also contracted friendship with many other gentlemen in this town, of different parties, of whom it may suffice to name Cæsar A. Rodney, as good in private as he was virtuous in public life; during the time I resided in Wilmington, he was a practising lawyer; but his principles and talents procured him the place of attorney-general under Mr. Jefferson's presidency: Mr. Bayard, a man of elegant manners, a federalist in Congress, and a senator elected by the same state; and Dr. Tilton, a physician of good repute in his profession, and an old decided revolutionist; from all of whom I received the most polite and friendly attentions.

It happened that two brothers of the name of Jordan, who had been in the calico printing line in Manchester, had emigrated to America, and established a factory on a small river about half a mile from the town; but either from indolence or extravagance, they became bankrupts. They had expended a large sum on this establishment. It contained five printing tables, with all the appendages of calender, forge, indigo-mills, chipping-

machine, turning-lathe, and a printing-machine, driven by the river Brandywine, which furnished a piece of one colour in about seven minutes. My Quaker friends in Wilmington, of the name of Pool, said, "Friend Archibald, thou sayest that thou shouldest wish to settle among us, and have something to do : why shouldest thou not purchase these works ?" My reply was, I did not choose, in such times, to risk the taking from my family so much money as the purchase must come to. The most zealous of my Quaker friends, however, urged the purchase so earnestly, that I gave way ; and those amongst them who were of the banking company, promised me their assistance in furnishing the funds to carry it on, until the works were able to support themselves. As a first step, I agreed with a dyer in the town (of the name of Aldred), an Englishman, from Manchester, who undertook the management of the shop and men, and would make up the accounts every three months. In less than a year it was calculated it would be productive.

[He announces his embarking in this business to Mrs. Rowan in the following terms :—" *Wilmington, March, 1797.* You will find by the papers which accompany this, that I am no longer a gentleman, but a printer and dyer of calicoes, and yet I do not think I disgrace my family, unless industry be a disgrace. Indeed I shrewdly suspect that it is not the virtue which the proprietors of

the world wish to make the poor believe it to be, in order that they may enjoy what they have in peace."....." *December 19th, 1797.* How interest sways men ! Some time since, when I was commencing this business, I advised with many of my acquaintances, among whom were various opinions. One, however, was decidedly against it. 'It never could answer.' 'There was no encouragement.' Some time after, I found that this person rented a calico printing ground to another adventurer. This person ruined himself and lost reputation by bad colours, a thing, by-the-bye, impossible to happen to us. If we dye, we shall go off without the jest of *flying colours* being applied to our work. And last post brought me a letter from this *friend*, making me an offer of the place, with an assurance from what he heard of the goodness of the work, that the manufactory, *if settled there*, would undoubtedly '*become of considerable importance.*' But I would not quit my sentry-box on the Brandywine, for any thing less than, at least, one of the new Italian republics ; and the fact is, that this spot is ten times to be preferred to his in every thing except vicinity to Philadelphia ; and we pay but £30 a-year instead of £140. The disproportion between rents in this country and purchase money is amazing." A year's experience convinced him that he had engaged in an unprofitable business. He writes, "Since I was a manufacturer I have received about £1350, out of which I have paid on account of the works about £900 ; so I

had much better have remained a gentleman, particularly as there is owing to the bank the whole £700 borrowed from it, and several small accounts for drugs.”]

There was upon the grounds a hut, about ten feet square, which had been built by the original proprietors, for the cutters to work in. This I removed to a romantic spot on the banks of the Brandywine, and I built around it a piazza towards the river, and thither I removed myself and my dog Charles ; while I gave the dwelling-house to Aldred and his family.

The first misfortune which happened to me here, was the having my house burned, by having left too much fire in the stove on Christmas-day, while I was at market.* A more serious one befel me the

* A detailed account of this fire is given in one of his letters, dated, December 28th. He estimates his loss at 100 guineas. “Upon the whole,” he continues, “this accident has been fortunate: it has deprived me of many things to which I was too much attached, and for which I had no occasion. Providentially it happened in the day time; had it been in the night, Charles, Sally, and I would most probably have been roasted. I had a small library of about 200 volumes, chiefly French, some of which are burned, others lie at present in the ice, and a few are safe. I much fear the poor trees which are on board the Liberty, for Derry, will suffer from the severity of the frost. The ice and the yellow fever will surely lower the rents in Philadelphia. I am assured that a degree of distress prevails there among the mercantile people, which seems incredible. Some merchants, it is said, cannot pay even the postage of their letters. In this state of things it is no wonder that we calico-printers look blank. In Philadelphia the jail continues to be the ton.”

next year ; for after carrying on the manufactory one year, during which time I could not get Aldred to make up the accounts, and that the last two payments to the bank had been out of my pocket, I concluded some alteration must be made. I therefore informed Aldred that I would discontinue the works next spring, if the accounts were not more successful. To this he answered, that the cause of this temporary failure was the prevalence of the yellow fever in Philadelphia. I then purchased some bales of muslin, to be prepared when the spring fleet should arrive from England. I ought to mention here, that the chief profit which this manufacture reaped, was from pirating those patterns which seemed to sell best, and stamping them on India muslin, which was finer, broader, and very little inferior in workmanship, and nearly one-third cheaper than those imported. Aldred still put off any settlement, on which I told him that he had better look out for some other situation, as I was determined on breaking up the works and paying my debts. He persisted that if continued, they would answer ; and at last bluntly said he was a partner, and would carry them on whether I would or not. This, I allow, alarmed me, and I went to my friends in the bank, and told them my situation. They asked me whether Aldred had brought any effects with him when he joined me ? and I mentioned that my agreement with him was, that he should have half the profit on the printing, and the liberty to carry on his old trade on his own

account, besides house, fuel, and the use of a cow. My friends said, they would settle that matter speedily, as they would the next day distrain the premises for the whole debt ; and Aldred would be glad to be permitted to go away with what he brought to the ground ; and thus I got rid of my English partner.

I now consulted with three of the men, who understood the different branches of the business, and they agreed to take their chance of an equal share of the profits instead of wages. I now kept the books, paid, and received, and in the first six months the dividend was very good ; but as the season advanced, to our discomfiture, when we applied for orders, we found the generality of our customers had received intimation from the British riders, that if they found American prints in their stores, they must make up their accounts with their British correspondents immediately ; and this not being perfectly convenient to the American trade, we were left without work. The next plan was to print my own muslins, and trust to selling them by auction ; but this also failed ; for the printed goods brought little more than the white price, and sometimes even less. Wearied and disgusted, I determined to break up the works.* I then went to Mr.

* He tried to dispose of the factory by auction, and announced it for sale in terms as characteristic of his own integrity as novel to the style of advertisements :—" Any person inclined to *sacri-*

Lee, a Quaker, for whom we had printed a good quantity of cottons for South America, and offered him the whole of the goods I had on hands, at his own price ; I knew that he had a full stock ; but at length he consented to look over them. He said I had paid too much for the white goods ; but if I would allow him 5 per cent. on their price, he would dispose of them. I then sold off all the materials, &c. and retired with a loss of about 500 dollars.

During the time the yellow fever raged in Wilmington, I was frequently in the habit of wheeling the flour from the mills there, to the works, in a small hand-barrow, and yet escaped the contagion. I probably owed my safety to the following circumstance :—During that time I was much employed in trying experiments on a bleaching liquid, the recipe for which was given me by Thomas Cooper of Sunbury, late of Manchester, who, though he would have dissuaded me from the enterprize, yet gave every assistance he could in the execution of it. This liquid was from a receipt of his own ; a mixture of a certain quantity of vitriolic acid, salt, and sulphur, which occasioned a vapour like that which has been recommended for its antiseptic qualities ; and this, possibly, saved me from the contagion.

fice his property by carrying on this manufactory in America, may have the whole for one-half the sum they cost, and immediate possession given.”—Ed.

CHAPTER XII.

Letter from Muir—Yellow fever—Mr. Barclay—Robert Morris—Rowan goes to visit the British Minister—*Irish slaves*—Visits Kosciusko—House of Congress—Alien bills—Benighted on the Delaware—Upstart aristocracy—Federalists and Anti-Federalists—Reception at a public meeting—Extract from the *Porcupine Gazette*—Letter to Cobbett, interview, and explanation—M'Comb's character of *Porcupine*—Letters from Mrs. Rowan—her belief in Christianity founded on REASON—arguments for and against going to America—attends lectures on chemistry—her heart and mind unchanged—Letters from Rowan—he wishes success to the Union—American newspapers—Visits Rodney in Albany—Springs of Saratoga—Shaking Quakers—Honesty of a Negro—Ferreting cat—Washington's obsequies—Dr. Priestley—Natural curiosities sent to Higgins—Mode of catching wild horses.

“ *Wilmington, Delaware, February 10th, 1797.* This moment I received a letter from Muir. He writes :— ‘ I left Gerald in the last agonies ; Palmer will not live ; you would not know Skirving ; and the state of Margaret's health is far from being firm.’ He begs me to write to his parents. Will you either do so, or get some one to do so immediately on the receipt of this ? to Mr. Thomas Muir, merchant, Glasgow. He got with danger extreme to New Spain, travelled across the continent to Vera Cruz, from thence got to the Havannah, at which place he was when he wrote to me, December 3d. He had left New Holland in the February before, and must, by circumstances, have reached Havannah about

the middle of November. He is well and humanely treated, though at present a prisoner as an Englishman. I wonder whether the body of an outlaw or felon belongs of right to his Majesty, even after natural as well as civil decease. You, by this time, know whether this country joins the coalition; which I take to depend upon the issue of Lord Malmsbury's embassy."

"*September 30th, 1797.* The letters which I write now to my family may be regarded almost as letters from the dead to the living. If some small portion of petulance now and then breaks out, you must attribute it to some impertinent questioning intruder, or to a mind affected by an intemperate climate. I told you in my last that I had offered to superintend the hospital tents of this town. I thought it a duty from one in my situation, to the country and to the people who have hitherto protected me; but not having been called upon, I act like all those who are impelled by duty alone, without the zeal of affection, and have not repeated my offer. The population of this place seems to have lost as many as Philadelphia.* Almost all the wholesale dealers have left that city. It would astonish you to see the low prices at which British goods are daily sold at *vendues* or auctions in all the ports. If some other country does not pay the manufacturer, this, I think, would never answer, for it does little more than pay the materials. Perhaps this is policy, to

* "The disease now first designated the *yellow fever* began early in August, 1793, and terminated early in November. In that time there were 4,044 deaths. In the second week of October, when the disease was at its height, the number of deaths exceeded 700. The population of Philadelphia was then about 50,000, of whom one-third was computed to have left the city."—TUCKER'S *Life of Jefferson*.

stop a spirit of manufacture which was creeping into the country. Mr. Holmes has fled, but is well, I hear; as is also his partner Rainey. I saw Counsellor Dunne once at his house. He has secured himself, I believe; and I do not find that any one will lose by Mr. Barclay, who, in my opinion, is as worthy a man as ever walked; and indeed he is much respected, though blamed for overdraw-ing his credit at the bank, of which he was president. He has always been supposed to lean to the popular interest, and this has raised a host of enemies, who grossly calumniate him; while Robert Morris, whose notes have been swindled into every channel that was open, and are not now worth a penny in the pound, takes the other party, is caressed and supported, pays £600 per annum house rent, keeps within doors, and, surrounded by blunderbusses and pistols, defies all his creditors with the sheriff at their head, and dines on Sundays with Washington! The weather is now sultry in the middle of the day, but very raw, as we would call it, in the mornings. These changes give the ague. I do not know whether I told you that I had it last year; if I get it again, I suppose I shall hold it longer than I did; for it appears to make part of the constitution of an American, and I am very near being one now, for I begin to think that there is but one being upon earth, and that is SELF."

"*November 5th, 1797.* Well, if people will but compliment me as they have done this 5th of November, I shall be reconciled to wearing your picture in the most prominent part of my dress, even were it handsomer than it is. However, the case is, that I am very seldom seen in any other garb than such as you have not often seen me in—short hair, no powder, and long beard; but this day I was remarkably spruce in the Quaker coat you

sent me, pomatumed and perfumed like any muscadin or musk-rat, which, by-the-bye, is a devilish mischievous beast in this country, and generally killed wherever he is found. I went to pay my devoirs to the British minister, who was going through this town, on a visit to General Washington. I did not, however, meet him; he had departed; and some of my *democratic American friends* abused me for an excessive politeness. I am, however, you know, obstinate as to what I think right, and did not mind them, but went; and am really disappointed that I had not an opportunity of showing him how much I felt his polite expressions concerning her I love more than any other on earth. Were I to be as rich a calico printer as Mr. Peel, I would give up the whole for the society, manners, and climate of Europe, with a small annuity; yet this is a fine country for those who can plough and dig; but even they must take care to avoid the harpies who await their landing, and must immediately dash into the country. The members of the society for the abolition of slavery have not the least objection to buying an Irishman or Dutchman, and will chaffer with himself or the captain to get him indented at about the eighth part of the wages they would have to pay a *country born*.* But to tell truth, they who are thus purchased generally do themselves justice, and run away before half their time is up. This, then, like every other abuse, falls hard only on the best subjects.....I find from a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, that Locke is given up there for a system of ethics composed by

* In another letter he writes—"Swarms of Irish are expected here by the spring vessels, and the brisk trade for *Irish slaves* here is to make up for the low price of flax-seed!"

Paley. I have read some parts of it, but not the whole : indeed it is some time since I met it, and I only recollect enough to beg that it may not be put into William's hands, to the exclusion, at least, of Locke.*

" *November 10th.* If you were flattered by Aldred's attention, how much more vain will you be, when I give you, literally as I got it, the most sincere respects and regards of Mr. Dickinson of this town, and present you, in his name, with the inclosed list of trees,† in a box of about 150 pounds weight, which he procured from a friend of his, a famous botanist, and lays it at your feet. I had spoken to him long since, and thought he had forgotten it, but this day, while drinking tea with him, the box arrived, and through the polite attention of the Rev. Mr. Porter, who sails from this for Derry, in the ship *Liberty*, the latter end of this, or beginning of next month, and promises to take care of it on the passage, and either immediately forward it to you, or inform you of its arrival, I hope it will get safe to hand."

" *Wilmington, December 7th, 1797.* My last jaunt to Philadelphia has been by much the least expensive and the most agreeable I have ever made. I lodged at a house with a Quaker merchant, not a *thee* and *thou*,

* Adverting again to this topic, he says, "I wish him to know mankind before he is in the way of committing himself. I suppose he read Godwin's 'Enquirer;' I like it better than his 'Political Justice;' but I repeat, no Paley, or else let Locke accompany it, as an antiseptic to work particularly against the latter part of the practical morality."

† The list contains the trivial and scientific names of upwards of thirty different kinds. There were also many duplicates of a great variety of seeds.—ED.

though a plain man—and a Dutchman, who neither smoked nor drank gin—an Englishman, a Londoner, who is the son of a rich merchant, and thinks paradise and London are synonymous terms—and an American, a young man who is just returned from Bordeaux, where he went as supercargo of a vessel; and he is certain that London is no more to be compared to that place, than Appoquinimink is to New York! I saw Mr. Pinkney, and he was very polite; but I own I did not receive his civilities with cordiality, for I recollected that he had refused to transmit letters for my best beloved, at a time when I figured to myself every possible evil having fallen upon her. Among my amusements at Philadelphia were two morning visits to Kosciusko; he cannot rise from his chair, which I suppose is the reason that he bows very low, too low I think; it hurt me, for one of the persons who was introduced to him while I was there, I knew to be a knavish scoundrel. He sits in an arm chair, his head bound up with a broad black ribbon, dark curling hair, sparkling eye, *nez retroussé*, his coat what we call Hussar, his legs bandaged, and the left one on a stool; he cannot walk, but thinks he is acquiring strength. A gentleman told him while I was there, that it was supposed, in case any attack should be made upon the British territory, General Arnold would command in chief. He almost rose from his seat when the informant persisted, saying he had not left London above two months. "It is impossible," he cried; "Arnold is rash, destitute of talent, and drunken. I was myself obliged to write to General Gates to order him out of the field." I said nothing, but thought it possible that he might serve under the Duke of Gordon in England, or have the chief command in Ireland, where there would be no great

danger of his being bought off. But heaven preserve me from all such miscreants ! It was a fear of that sort which made me wish to have my only love on earth away from a devoted spot—a spot on which it is, and has long been my opinion, the fate of England will be decided. You know I always asserted the impolicy, as well as the impossibility of keeping a whole people in a state of subjection to a privileged few.”

“ *March 2d, 1798.*.....I have written to my father at Killileagh, and inclosed some letters on which I request yours and his serious advice.....I have also sent February’s papers, that he may see a full and true account of how the House of Congress is become a boxing-school ; the speaker giving challenges from the chair, and when taken up in private, putting the matter ‘ *ad referendum*,’ till the end of the sessions. If this is a specimen of a democratic republic, Lord help us sufferers in the cause !

“ Mr. Fox’s declaration, in answer to Mr. Dundas, is manly, and, I think, honourable. Would to God such sentiments had pervaded men in power long since, and things would not be in the condition they are. God send, even were they adopted, it may not be too late !

“ I have told you often, and I repeat that the moment I can leave this country, without injuring my family, I will do so. As it appears that you are just in the same situation, we are not likely soon, if ever, to meet. In the present state of things it would be madness in you to think of moving. I am neither well nor ill, but better since I was in a warmer house ; indeed I have more to complain of in mind than in body.”

“ *June 10th, 1798.* I have already told you that I foresaw a more strict union about to take place between

this country and Britain, which might make my residence here disagreeable, to say no worse. But I did not foresee that such laws are to be enforced here as seem to be in imitation of Jacobinic fury, as it was called. Alien bills, naturalization bills, and sedition bills are originating in each house of the senate; and the representatives seem to vie with each other who shall enact the most rigorous clauses. By the one before the house, persons in my situation are declared *de facto* to be dangerous, and are at the mercy of the marshal and district judge, to be taken up, imprisoned, bound over, or banished, or fined, or conveyed to the nearest part of the territories of those powers to which they owe allegiance. These bills are not yet passed, however.

“ In what a season did the trees arrive ! I fear they will not be of any other use than to show my dearest wife that I have some virtuous and sensible connexions in this country, and that they have imbibed the same sentiments of respect and regard for my friends, which have ever been entertained by myself.....I have in the house I live in at present a brewing copper, holding about a barrel ; I have brewed in it five or six times, some for myself, but most for some neighbours. My beer is renowned for excellence and cheapness, and I am strongly solicited to undertake a brewery ; but setting aside alien and sedition bills, I have been too much scorched by calico printing. Had this been an original attempt, I believe I should have been induced to undertake it. No, there is no sign of peace ; nor of any such arrangement as you look for. A sermonizer here, on Mr. Adams’s fast day, (for they fast and pray in this country too) said, and I think he said truly, that ‘ a great armed doctrine had gone forth, which would overturn and overturn and overturn ! ’ ”

“ *July 20th.* The night before last I passed in my batteau on the Delaware. I was fool enough to trust a fine day, and as I used to do with you at Epinay, forgot how to turn about until the tide turned ; but with the evening came on one of those sudden changes of weather, that, among other things, make this country detestable and detested. The swell prevented me from benefitting by the tide : I ran on shore, as one would call it ; but the rivers here have no shore, they are bounded by marsh, *alias* mud, and there was no getting on dry land ; and in my batteau full of water, with my oars, &c. lashed to the seat, I spent the night, and this being the fourth day after it, I am as well as I have been this year ; so you see Ross was not quite out when he spoke of me ; I have still a bit of iron in my constitution, though the steel may be ground off.....On the passing of the alien bill I wrote to the Secretary of State, saying that having been a victim of false evidence in my own country, I might fall under the suspicion of either the President or some others, and it might be thought necessary to remove me, in which case I desired to know whether as a British subject I should be removed to some place under British jurisdiction, or given permission to go where I pleased ; and that the peculiarity of my situation would apologise for the intrusion. My letter was short and respectful, but I have received no answer.....Over and over again do I say, if I am to live under the lash of arbitrary power, at least let the whip be in the hands of those accustomed to use it, not picked up by a foot-passenger, who, unaccustomed to ride, keeps flogging every post and rail he comes near, pleased to hear how he can smack the whip. O upstart aristocracy, what a fiend art thou !.....I do not know whether I mentioned the number of dessert knives

I sent you ; I have eighteen, but I send you only one dozen. Is this in hopes they will ever meet again ? Alas ! I fear it much.....You foolish goose, how could you send me any of the precious metals, as they are called : you will occasion my house to be robbed, I am sure, as soon as it is known that my spoons are not pewter. And why have I not the lock of hair with the picture, which would be my constant companion when I am fishing, brewing, or engaged in any other of my occupations ? Pray send it to me in a small crystal locket, the plainest possible, and small, but strong. Still, as I have always said, you are above your sex ; the whole of your reflections concerning Mrs. W—— would prove it if it did not appear in every other action of your life. I feel the force of common sentiments and common opinions, and what a weight they have with me. I compare myself with you, and blush at the comparison ! I could not have done another, even you, if you were a man, the same justice you have done me under similar circumstances ; and indeed you only do me justice. Shall I ever act prudently ? Probably never.

“ It is now three weeks since I wrote to Timothy Pickering, and as I have received no answer, I am to suppose I have done an impertinent thing, to address a letter to the Secretary of State, nay more, request an answer from the first officer of the executive, after the President, of this most free and most enlightened nation, this democratic republic, if ever one yet existed ; but where those who have got unexpectedly into power wish to remain so, and at their carousings drink confusion to that fiend democracy ! Faith, it is not pleasant, when a man is elected to the House of Representatives, and pockets his six dollars per day, with ample travelling expenses to and

from home, that the scum of the earth may take it into their head that he has not their interest in view, and elect another in his place, while he returns to the counter, the office, or the plough ! Oh ! the borough of old Sarum or Harrisburgh is much better than this ! How very affectionate it is to his country, that to serve her in this hour of danger, General President Washington again steps forth into public life, and quits his dear retreat, his much loved solitude, after enjoying it for near two years ! This being the 24th of July, all things remain as they were, excepting my having received two flattering civilities from two persons very universally respected on this continent ; but nothing can remove the weight of absence from my dearest friend, which ever hangs heaviest on HAMILTON."

The Congress was at this time divided into two parties, called federalists and anti-federalists. One of these was composed of those, who at the settlement of their present constitution had supported more popular maxims of government, and were called republicans by themselves, and anarchists and French by their opponents. The other party, having desired to enlarge the power of the executive in the government about to be established, and having voted for the actual constitution, called themselves federalists.

Among those who visited me and congratulated me on my arrival there were many of both parties, and in the course of my residence in America I reckoned many sincere friends in each, though most in the former. The chief subject of American politics on which I suffered myself to speak was

the alien bill ; this I felt severely ; it was, with respect to me and many others, a penal statute, which delivered those who did not become citizens over to the hands of the President, ordering them either to quit the country in fifteen days, or, in case of refusal or neglect of this, empowered him to have them seized and transmitted to whatever country he chose to say they belonged. A short time after my arrival at Philadelphia there was a town meeting on the subject of the British treaty, which was a grand subject of discussion. I was curious to see a popular assembly in the New World, and attended in the garden of the Court-house of Philadelphia, where it was convened.

A stage had been erected, on which three delegates, to whom the consideration of the treaty had been referred, were mounted. They gave their reasons against the treaty. But the last speaker, Blair M'Clenahan, to my utmost surprise, at the close of his speech, said, "*Now let us give three cheers for the persecuted patriot, Hamilton Rowan,*" (at the same time throwing the copy of the treaty, which he held in his hand, among the crowd), "*and kick the treaty to hell !*"

On my going the next day to Baltimore, to see my worthy and much esteemed friend H. J. the following address to the editor appeared in *Peter Porcupine's Gazette* :—

“ THE YUNTS, PRINTERS OF THE FEDERAL GAZETTE,
BALTIMORE.

“ My readers know, that I some days ago gave them a proof or two of the federalism of these hypocritical editors of the Baltimore Federal Gazette. Their last paper contains another proof; and that will speak for itself too, in the following words :—‘ *On Sunday evening arrived here from Wilmington, on a short visit, that persecuted patriot and warm assertor of the civil and religious rights of mankind, Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan.*’ What could Bache, or Greenleaf, or any *sans culotte* scoundrel in the country have said more ? This Rowan is known to have escaped from the hands of justice in his own country, and to have fled to France ; he is known to have been one of those men who have caused the convulsions in Ireland, with all their fatal consequences ; he is known to be an apostle of those abominable principles which have deluged Europe with blood, and which it is every good man’s object to keep far from this country. In fine, he is known to have joined the democratic, jacobin, anti-federal faction here, from the moment of his landing. It is notorious he was introduced to, and welcomed by an anti-federal town meeting, who gave three cheers for Rowan, and other three for *kicking the treaty to hell*. And it is notorious that all his friends and associates are men who act as if they had bound themselves by an oath to overthrow and destroy the federal government. And this is the man whom the federal printers of Baltimore welcome to their city as a *persecuted patriot, a warm assertor of civil and religious rights !* Are these the men that the federalists of Baltimore are weak enough to encourage on account of

their political principles ? But I shall be told that these are the best which Baltimore has to boast of. I am sorry for it. I wish I had some one to send there to replace them ; and I am certain, if I were a man of wealth and lived there, they should be replaced. There wants nothing but a man of spirit, integrity, and some talents, to reduce them to a cypher. Such men are surely to be found ; but till the real federalists have public spirit enough to act as well as talk, they must expect to see their cause the stepping-stone of hypocrites and villains."

" *Porcupine Gazette*, 17th February, 1798."

[In consequence of this unprovoked attack, Mr. Rowan addressed the following letter to Mr. Cobbett, editor of the *Porcupine Gazette* :—

" February 20th, 1798.

" SIR,

" Soon after my arrival in America, whither I had fled from confinement inflicted for entertaining political opinions flowing from feelings over which I could have no control, I retired to a distance from Philadelphia. I entered into no party, and not being a citizen, I studiously avoided mingling in the politics of this country. Thus retired, offending neither the government nor individuals, I expected to live unmolested ; yet, during my residence in the United States, I have been the unnecessary subject of frequent paragraphs in your paper. I wished to believe that you had seen the indelicacy and impropriety of such a procedure ; but a publication in your paper of Saturday destroys that expectation. As you have received no injury from me, I request of you to explain to me what are your motives for repeatedly

wounding my feelings and breaking in upon the peace of my family, by whom your papers may be read, possibly, in Europe.

“ I am, Sir, &c.

“ A. H. ROWAN.”

In the *Porcupine Gazette* of the following day, February 21, appeared the following notice to correspondents :—

“ I must beg leave to tell the person who requests to be informed of my *motives* for publishing certain paragraphs, that I do not acknowledge or submit to any *secret inquisition*. If he wishes to have his letter, or any other communication on the subject, published in my paper, it shall be done without hesitation, and then of necessity I shall give such answer as *propriety, truth, and candour* shall dictate ; but I will never condescend to a *private correspondence* in defence of what I publish to the world.”

Mr. Rowan now determined to have a personal interview, and accordingly, as he informs us, waited upon him, attended by Mr. Stafford, who acted as his friend on this occasion.]

This evening, February 23, I went by appointment to Mr. Cobbett's, accompanied by Mr. Stafford, who had arranged the interview. On entering his private office, Mr. C. introduced me to a Mr. North, a friend of his, an Englishman, as he said. When seated, Mr. Cobbett said he understood that I had desired to see him, and he wished

to know what I had to say to him. I answered, that I had shown Mr. Stafford every thing which had passed between us, and had put him in possession of my sentiments on this occasion. The conversation then took a wide range concerning general principles, his right to canvass public characters, &c. and he spoke of a dispute between him and the editors of a Baltimore paper, which he said was the cause of his late publication. Mr. Stafford observed he ought to have confined his attack to them. I said the matter was very short; I had been wantonly and unnecessarily wounded by various and repeated paragraphs in his paper. He interrupted me by saying that for some months prior to this, there had not been any insertion of that sort; that he *had* been informed that I did not intermeddle in the politics of this country, but that he had lately learned by a letter from a person in Wilmington, whose name he would not give, that the contrary was the fact. I said I was concerned that there was any person living there so uninformed of my situation, or so ready to assert a falsehood concerning me; that those who knew my connexions in that town must know that I received equal attentions from both parties, and I mentioned among other names that of Dr. Latimer. I again asserted that I did not call forth these strictures by any public act of mine; that I held certain political opinions which I thought virtuous and honourable; that I had acted on them in Ireland, and had been persecuted for them; that I

was prepared for farther persecution if necessary ; that I held the same principles still, but that I did not act on them in this country ; if ever I should, I then became fair game ; that every man had a right to form and support his own opinions ; but that what I complained of, and wished to prevent in future, was the being held up as a beacon to be avoided by all good and honourable men. Mr. Cobbett said he never meant to injure me or my family ; that he had attacked me as a public character ; that Mr. North had been present when he received my letter ; that he had handed it to him, saying, “ Here is a very civil letter ; I think I must answer it : ” that this was his first impression, but upon reflection he changed his opinion, and had inserted the notice to correspondents ; for he did not choose that a letter of his, in which he might lay himself open, should be handed about or published. He again asserted his right to canvass all public occurrences, such as the paragraph in the Baltimore paper. I acceded generally to what he said, but remarked that the occasion of my writing to him, or calling on him, was the private abuse he had at different times thrown on me, which was such as no man could silently endure. He said he did not feel inclined to make an apology. I replied, if I had thought any apology from him necessary, I should have asked him for it, and his refusal would have terminated our interview ; that what I desired was to remain in the back-ground, and to be let alone. But if his declining to apolo-

gize for what *had* passed proceeded from an idea that he had done me no injury, there was every probability that on the first occasion I should be again brought forward in the same manner ; and in that case I had given this trouble to no purpose ; that as Mr. C. had repeatedly declared that he had no intention of injuring me or wounding my private character, I appealed to himself and to his friend Mr. North, whether those publications were or were not of that tenor. If they were not, I had no right to make my present remonstrance, or request his silence in future ; but if they were, I was authorised in my application, and in my request. In the course of this conversation, Mr. C. drew out a letter, which he said had been handed to him behind his counter that day ; he wished me to read it. I asked whether it was anonymous. He said it was. I declined reading it, and returned it. Mr. C. was called out on business, and Mr. North repeated what Mr. C. had said on the subject of my letter ; and that he had supposed he had written to me, until he saw the article to correspondents. I said I was not surprised that he should have been cautious of writing to me, as he did not know me ; that some persons might suppose I should pride myself upon receiving any apology from Mr. C., which I assured him would not be the case ; that I had indeed mentioned this business to some of my friends, but as the matter was in train, it was in confidence ; that whatever might be the issue of it, I should inform them ;

but it was not my intention to make the business public. Mr. Cobbett returned into the room, and very shortly after said, that when he wrote that paragraph, he thought he was doing right, or doing his duty ; that since that time he had been better informed as to my character, and that he would not in future *wantonly or unnecessarily* bring my name forward. I said this was all I desired, and that I was perfectly satisfied with this assurance, and I arose to retire. While we were standing, Mr. Cobbett offered to insert any thing I should desire in his paper. I said my wish was, never to appear in it. Mr. Stafford, however, said, that as he had given so full and candid an explanation, he would perhaps insert something from himself. Here both Mr. C. and I interrupted him ; I, by saying I should object to any publication ; and Mr. C. by saying that he had been frequently requested to do so, but had always refused ; that at this moment he was convinced he had misrepresented a very worthy man in this city, but that he would never contradict what he had once said. In the course of conversation many other indifferent things passed, for the recollection of which my memory does not serve me, but they were all of the same tenor. Mr. C. saw us to the door.

[Prior to the termination of this affair, Rowan had written to a friend in Wilmington, stating the circumstances, and asking his advice. His friend, in reply, asks, " Would it not be proper to call on Latimer and Bayard for their certificate that you

lived in a retired, inoffensive, and peaceable manner in this town, and by your prudent conduct had gained the attention and respect of all parties and descriptions? Such a certificate would abash even *Porcupine* himself; and a suit brought against him in the Federal Court, for scandal, would teach him better manners in future."

The same friend writes again:—"It is hard to advise what would be most proper in your case. The certificate I mentioned this morning would please me best. *Porcupine* is a public defamer, and is reprobated even by his own party. He can hurt no one in this country. The danger is, that he may injure your family. The certificate would completely obviate this. He is too much of a blackguard to be treated like a gentleman; he ought to be held up to universal contempt and abhorrence. I hope you have not gone too far to retract, and that you will join the general voice in thus treating him.

"Your affectionate friend,

"ELEAZER M'COMB."

"*Wilmington, February 22, 1798.*"

"*A. H. Rowan, Esq.*"

FROM MRS. TO MR. ROWAN.

"*March, 1799.* I am glad that the picture got safe, and that you like it. Does my countenance give the lie to my actions, or have they been such as to make you doubt

my affections? If my countenance would show what passes in my heart, it would then be seen with what infinite pain to myself, and from the most disinterested affection to you, I have acted as I have done; but could I send you a copy of my heart as easily as I can my face, believe me I should do it most readily, that you might then see how every part of it glows with the warmest affection for you. Mr. Dickinson concluded I was a woman of superior understanding. I thank him; but I have my fears he took all his ideas of me from your partial accounts. I know not what book Mr. Dickinson put into your hands, on the subject of Christianity; but in my idea it stands on the best of all foundations, REASON; for who can doubt its precepts being divine, since more than mortal charity and benevolence shine through the whole? I do not mean to say, however, that I disbelieve either prophecy or miracles; far from it; but I think I could be a Christian without either; to which I may add, that the more I have reflected on, and used my reason in matters of religion, the stronger has been my belief in Christianity. I hear Priestley has lately published a very absurd book on religion; he has many enemies, however, and I think it more than probable that the book in question is not at all what it is represented. I would thank you to get it for me, that I may, as I generally do, judge for myself.....I have sent by this vessel a parcel containing newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines; the pamphlets are either for or against the union.

“*May 1st, 1799.* Many resolutions do I make not to write to you on this day; but in no other way can I employ myself, or lessen the melancholy that I peculiarly feel on it. It is now five years since we were separated. For great part of that time I flattered myself that by

waiting for a short season, I should have been enabled to bring with me to my beloved husband, independence, and sufficient to procure those comforts and even elegancies to which we and our children have been accustomed. Never did I deceive the friend of my heart ; I will not do it now ; those hopes are in some respects vanished. I am satisfied, let them say what they will, that your property will never be regranted. I do believe it was once the intention of government to have given it to me ; but the circumstances that have occurred in Ireland since that time have prevented them. From this conviction I have given up all idea of remaining in this country.The only cause of delay now arises from my private embarrassments ; these, however, I must contrive some means of getting over. As to where we shall meet, you must be the best judge. I do not suppose in America ; your picture both of that country and its inhabitants is indeed sufficient to deter any person from going thither. But then you did expect to find perfection there ; and I do not think it exists any where ; however, I have no predilection for America, nor for any country out of the British dominions ; and these being the only places in which it is totally impossible for me to enjoy happiness, as you cannot be of the party, all countries at peace with England become equal to me. America, you seem to think, would be the best place for us, in case we were deprived of our property. This is a circumstance we shall never know till it happens. The strongest reason, however, in favour of America, is the very great risk you must run in quitting it, of being taken at sea by the English or their allies, the idea of which is too horrid for me to rest on ; and the danger is the greater, as I think the American government, from its present temper, would

give every information in its power respecting your departure. To balance this, however, you seem to think the climate of America does not agree with you. I am rather inclined to think that your present mode of life would not agree with you any where. Every captain of a ship that comes from Philadelphia or Wilmington fills this country with accounts of your drawing beer, flour, &c. through the streets, which gives fresh food for scandal against poor me. My own heart, and those who know me, acquit me of the crime of want of affection for you.What could, what should have obliged you to run from your house to the factory in a snow-storm, with your bed on a barrow? We are both suffering; but why should we make for ourselves unnecessary troubles? The truth is, a friend of yours has written to me from America, to say that you are grown very thin, and that your health is very indifferent. You will judge what I felt at the receipt of such a letter. I am sensible, because I sometimes feel it, that to give the body exercise is in a degree the means of lessening the sufferings of the mind; but then it must not be fatigued; for though that may procure rest for a night, lowness of spirits will succeed it in the morning. For myself, I have it not in my power, living as I do in town, to take much exercise. I am never happy, and seldom quite well, nor yet ill, but I have not that pleasure in existence which peace of mind alone can give. Besides, what I have so long foreseen has come to pass; constant suspense keeps me ever in a fret; and there are more days that my children are, than they are not, objects of pain to me; yet, to prove that I do not give way without an effort to amuse my mind, (and did I not sometimes succeed, I should go mad,) of late I have been much taken up in attending chemical

lectures, and reading sufficient to make me understand them, and from this I often find entertainment when lighter amusements have failed. Until I began, I did not know how pleasant a study it was, or that it took in so much of natural philosophy. To return, however, to what is most interesting to us both, our reunion, let me know what you think we had best do, for you know America, and I do not. On many accounts it would be desirable to be in Europe; but the great reasons against it are, first, the danger you would run in getting to it, and the handle your quitting America would give your enemies. These appear to me so strong, as not to be easily got over; but in every other point of view Europe is greatly to be preferred.....I send you a small parcel containing newspapers, with Pitt's and our Speaker's speeches on the union, and a pamphlet which, there is little doubt, was written by Emmett. Mr. Dickinson and you are quite out in your politics. I fear the union may pass; but, believe me, if it does, it will be no reason for your being permitted to return to this country; quite the contrary; but you could never think on public matters as does your affectionate wife."

"*June 29th, 1799.* You talk of the American climate; but this, like the manners of the people, is much changed since you first knew it. The winter here, as I told you, was dreadfully cold, and indeed we perished until this month, when it set in so hot, that this day week was hotter than any thing I ever felt. The consequence of this sudden change is, that we have all got colds; but the worst to me is, that every time it blows too hot or too cold, I feel it at my heart, from the idea of what you may be suffering from the excess of either. Sometimes I say to myself, are the people or the climate really so changed?"

or is it that being separated from him I love, every thing is to my distempered fancy altered? If this is the case, may not the same cause produce the same effect in you, and give to America and its inhabitants many of their faults?"

"*July 29th, 1799.* To any well inclined persons, and there are some such, your endeavours to procure an independence by industry, situated as you are, must appear highly laudable, and worthy only of praise.....I am not, any more than you, given to prophecy; but it is not necessary to be gifted with this, to foresee that ere long a limited monarchy will be established in France, which will, for a time, at least, give peace to bleeding Europe. This is my opinion, at least; but I do not know that it is any other person's; and as I never speak or write on political subjects, I should not have mentioned it, but that I think it the best chance we have of our affairs being settled satisfactorily."

"*May 1st, 1800.* Bread has been sixpence a pound; it is now, thank God, somewhat cheaper.....These circumstances will not prevent my joining you the instant I hear of your being in Europe, though I should run away and walk the journey; but I hope better than this, and trust that the goodness of God, which has so long supported me, will now enable me to settle every thing in some degree to my satisfaction. To lose courage in such a situation is to lose every thing."

"*August 16th, 1800.* I have before said I am promised letters of recommendation, as soon as it is known where we mean to live; in what style they will be I cannot say, but I think the Chancellor will do the best he can for us; and from men of science here I shall have letters to men of the same sort in Germany. Ten thousand

thanks for your thinking of my good friend Higgins.There are some cases, my good friend, in which to suppose the possibility is to make the reality. You expect to find me altered, so much as to fear we shall not again be as happy as we were. In person, to be sure, I am altered; perhaps also in manners. When you recollect the scenes I have had to go through, and the courage that was necessary for them, you will naturally suppose that there is more of independence in my character and manners than there was when you left me. This, however, was even then coming fast; I must own I think it an improvement; prepare yourself to think so, and rest assured my heart and mind are just those you have so long loved."

[From various passages in Mr. Rowan's correspondence, his opinions in favour of the union were very striking and decided. Addressing his father, he writes, "*January, 1799.* I congratulate you upon the report which spreads here that a union is intended. In that measure I see the downfall of one of the most corrupt assemblies, I believe, ever existed, and instead of an empty title, a source of industrious enterprize for the people, and the wreck of feudal aristocracy."]

FROM MR. TO MRS. ROWAN.

"*January 10th, 1799.* "Success to the union, if it is intended. You may have heard me declare the same opinion long since. It takes a feather out of the great man's cap; but it will, I think, put many a guinea in the poor man's pocket."

“*March 15th.* The government printer has, the other day, published a letter in his newspaper, in which, among other curious paragraphs are the following :— ‘ That the constitution of these states’ (alas ! how often, in conversation with poor Tone, have I urged that the Americans were far off and looked bright !) ‘ is a mere substitute for a better ; more untenable than a house on a quicksand :.....that the state governments are like a—*farrow of pigs* insulting the *old sow* :’ (Elegant !) ‘ that universal suffrage is only the right of putting a paltry piece of paper into a ballot-box once or twice a year :.....that republicanism is the highest note in the gamut of nonsense :.....that newspapers are the greatest curse a country can have ; and American papers worse than any others :....that the magistrates and clergy are—the former pickpockets and bank robbers ; and the latter a herd of stock-jobbing priests, attacking the true faith.’ And the cure of these is a *change of government* ! I have before told you I thought such a thing, whether right or wrong, was intended ; I told you it would not be effected without blood ; and therefore so far from wishing you here, I wished that I were away from this. The time then will come, and I shall perhaps be here in despite of myself. I begin to think that the only question a poor man should ask himself is, ‘ Under what government shall I work least, get most, and keep what I get ?’ In this view, to use an American term, I would advocate an union in Ireland, which will throw work into the cabin, and take *triple* taxes and *tenth* of income, &c. &c. out of the rich man’s house. In future times, however, I have no doubt but a mode will be adopted better than any now known, and I am fortified in this opinion from the great probability of a convulsion in this country,

which has certainly theoretically the most free government existing ; for except in the instances of some free states, where the legislatures assume the right (as it is said, under a misconstruction of the constitution, by those who oppose it) to elect senators and appoint electors for choosing the president, every office is filled by the people. The strange compromise between the states possessing slaves, and the others is indeed ludicrous. Six slaves make one free man, and give a vote in consequence to their proprietor. It was somewhat on this principle, I suppose, that formerly one Englishman was equal to ten Frenchmen, Q. E. D. This superiority seems to be kept up at sea, where the most absolute despotism reigns. How is this ? Because in that service, merit, professional alone, leads to promotion. No eighty-four-gun ship has ever descended from father to son."

" *April 15th, 1799.* There are so many new events turning up in your country, that there is no foreseeing what will be the issue. But of this I am morally certain, that the troubles in Europe will increase rather than diminish ; and this alone keeps me in suspense as to leaving America. Were I mad with prophecy, I would utter strong but by no means improbable sentences upon all the monarchies of the old world. But I cannot think that these things are acting in order to the accomplishment of that which was written. It seems to me that all revolutions are effected by a co-operation of the benevolent and ambitious against the rich and the corrupt. As soon as the revolution is consolidated, those who were benevolent become corrupt from power, and the ambitious make them their prey, and in their turn fall before a new coalition. I am almost sent to Coventry here by the Irish, for my opinions concerning a union. I am, as

usual, obstinate as a pig, and mutter ‘union, or ——.’ The army have returned from Philadelphia, having acted as an army let loose always will act, even though it should belong to the freest and most enlightened nation.”

“*Balston Springs, September, 1799.* I wrote on the back of a letter which I left at New York, as I passed through to this place, ‘*on the road to Saratoga.*’ I do not know whether you ever received the only letter which could in a degree explain this journey of about 500 miles. Mr. Rodney was ill at Albany; his family were in distress; he was supposed to have no friend with him; his wife insisted on joining him; her father would not consent to it; and a sort of compromise took place upon my undertaking the journey, and promising them all due attention. I arrived here in six days’ very fatiguing journey; for the road was miserable towards the latter end; but if travelling all day and the greatest part of the night had not, with something else, deadened all sources of pleasure, I must have been delighted with the scenery on the banks of the North river all the way from New York. The distant views of the Catskill mountains, which are a part of the Allegany, were superb; never have I seen such heights. When I arrived here, I found Rodney had written that most alarming letter, which occasioned my journey, in a fit of despondency, and that he was as well as any man liable to attacks from indigestion, which, however, were very severe. This spot is in a hollow; the hills which make it a bason have been covered with pine trees. This is called a pine-barren, and would have been less disagreeable to the eye, if they had not, by cutting the bark, killed all the trees, which are now so many ragged poles, some fallen, some falling. The accommodations are a long frame-house, and this divided

by a gallery, on each side of which are small rooms just big enough for a pallet bed and a trunk with one chair, and nothing but board partitions. I have one of these, which adjoins that of a Boston young lady, her attendant lover being on the other side of her. I hear more than prudence would dictate. There is a strange familiarity among the youth every where ; it shocks at first, but has at length become familiar ; and now without the least surprise I can see two or three young ladies and a gentleman in the corner of the room locked in each others' arms, and romping to excess. I have now visited the springs of Saratoga, about eight miles from hence. The waters taste nearly as those here, which are like Seltzer water with salt in it. The spring at Saratoga has risen out of the earth, and formed, as it constantly rose, a mound of petrification, out of the centre of which it constantly flowed ; until about fifteen years since, when this crust or rock cracked, and the water is now about four feet lower than the surface over which it used to flow..... I shall close this at Albany, whither I shall go and wait a few days, until Rodney determines whether the late alterations in the weather will not occasion his leaving the springs. This man also loves his wife, but he enjoys all other society ; he dances, he jokes, nay, he is sorry when a young party leaves the place where he now inhabits.

“ Here I am, *September 11th, at Albany.* I have desired Rodney to determine his actions, and that as he decides, I will either leave this on Thursday for New York, or wait for him. Should I be delayed, I will go and see the warm springs at Lebanon, and a curious society called the Shaking Quakers, which is in its vicinity. They renounce the world, like the Chartreux ; but they render themselves useful to society by employing

themselves in raising fowl, and cultivating large gardens. Every thing is in common among them; and I have heard such accounts of their regulations as would induce me to join them, were it not for the absurdity of their religious practices. Yet you would say to me, ‘Where do you expect to find perfection?’

“*September 19th, 1799, on the North or Hudson river.* Having adhered to my constant practice of continuing an Irishman, and not meddling with American politics, I have had the satisfaction of receiving marked civilities from many agreeable persons of both parties here. I spent a day at Mr. Walton’s, near the wells, and have been much and kindly pressed to pass some time with a Mr. Van Ness, below Albany This is the second time I have embarked on this river, on my return to Delaware. The first time, Rodney and I got into a boat crowded by frowzy Dutch women and their squalling brats; he got low-spirited, and we prevailed on another boat to lie to for us, while we re-embarked for Albany; and now, as we have a fair wind, I will not close my letter until we get to Amboy, whither this vessel is bound. By this means we got past New York, where the fever rages with increased violence.

“*Thursday Evening.* The wind has fallen, and the tide against us; six hours’ delay. Well, it gave me an opportunity of getting on shore, and returning to Albany, where I had forgotten the large knife you sent out to me. In this ride I had again, as I constantly have, occasion to love and respect the lower order of men, when uncontaminated by too much intercourse with their superiors. I lost one of my gloves, and having searched back the road for it in vain, I continued my route. Overtaking a Negro, I threw him the other, saying that ‘I had lost the

fellow on that hill somewhere ; that perhaps he might find it, and he never was possessed of such a pair in his life.' (They were the last of six pair Wills sent me out.) The fellow smiled. 'No, Master, you not lost it ; here it is ;' and he took the fellow out of his bosom and gave them both to me. And this man was a slave, whose portion was stripes, and *black dog* his appellation from a whey-faced Christian !"

"*Brandywine, November 17th, 1799.* Miss Vining lately forced Heloise upon me. I would not read the account of Julie's illness and death over again for any inducement ; my head ached the whole day after. What a foolish thing it is to run to fiction for misery ! But, lecture over, the pain is succeeded by pleasure ; not so in life."

"*December 10th, 1799.* I have got two pets besides Charles and Sally, a cat and a squirrel. Do you not wonder at the alteration which attaches me to my quondam mortal enemy, a cat ? Oh ! I am vastly altered in those respects. But at the same time I must allow that my puss is not in all respects *feline*, for she will walk out a shooting with me in the rain, and such a whillaloo as she sets up in the woods when she misses me, or Mr. Robinson, who indeed mostly uses her as a ferret to drive the rabbits from under the rocks."

"*Wilmington, January 30th, 1800.* The good people of this country are mad. There is scarcely a large town on the continent where Washington has not been buried twice ; and on his birth-day, the 11th of February, he is to be buried again all over the continent. The '*elegantes*' of Wilmington are drawing lots which shall be the fortunate sixteen who are to represent the sixteen states in the procession, and weep, and wail, and mourn

the hero's death. I respect Washington's character, and would perpetuate his memory. This monotonous burying a parcel of empty coffins may indicate an *enlightened* nation, but surely it is no proof of their *fancy* or *ingenuity*. Dr. Priestley has published some letters to the people of Northumberland, which are much criticised by those called aristocrats, because he disapproves of the alien and sedition laws; and further, although he is not a *native American*, he has had the presumption to propose some amendments to the constitution. The Doctor was forced into this publication of his sentiments, by paragraphs similar to one I shall copy, which abounded in Cobbett's, Fenno's, and Brown's papers:—'I hope to see the malignant old Tartuffe of Northumberland begging his bread through the streets of Philadelphia, and ending his days in a poor house, without a friend to close his eyes!' I could not curse the curser thus. How shall I find words to bless you and yours?"*

"*Wilmington, June 4th, 1800.* There are a thousand things from which I cannot detach myself, which have been, and may again be useful to me. They swell my equipage to about one ton and a half of measurement; but I cannot help it; they are the companions of my distress, and I sometimes flatter myself they will be the witnesses of my felicity.....I have no family now; I

* While Mrs. Rowan was yet hesitating about going to America, she writes—"You hold out a strong inducement when you mention our living near Priestley, whose Christian doctrine and scientific knowledge I so highly respect; but then can I wish to go to a country where a paragraph so vulgar and inhuman could be tolerated?" Mr. Rowan speaks of Priestley as "social, affable, and good-natured."

gave my cat to an affectionate, industrious countryman when I was going to Baltimore; Sally, though bred up with me, deserts my roof for a better fireside and hung beef for her breakfast. If it were not for the expense, I would travel after Charles, as Sterne's Peasant in search of his ass. Poor fellow! perhaps the yell he constantly set up when he lost me may have caused his death. Did you never read, the title at least, of a play of Terence, '*The Self-tormentor?*'*.....I have put up some trifling pieces of petrification and spar, &c. for your friend Mr. Higgins; I will send him a specimen of the soap-stone, which from its extreme softness when taken out of the quarry, and hardening afterwards in the air, is much used. There is a kind of beetle here, more powerful, and quicker in its operation than the Spanish flies;† he shall have some of these, as also some of the locusts which have appeared this year, and are said to sink in the earth for seven or eight years, and to be as long rising. There are few persons here to assist me in the collection, and you know I am no naturalist; but trifling as these things may be, they will mark a wish to please the gentleman

* He was in danger also of becoming a second Timon *Misanthropos*; for he says "of late I am become a perfect misanthrope; or at least I love no one, and no one loves me, and the sooner the deception of life is over the better."

† Probably the *cantharis vittata* of FABRICIUS, which in the United States of America abounds on the potatoe-plants. As to the locusts, KALM, in his *Travels to North America*, mentions a species which appears "about every seventh year in incredible numbers. They come out of the ground in the middle of May, and make, for six weeks together, such a noise in the trees and woods, that two persons who meet in such places cannot understand each other, unless they speak louder than the locusts can chirp."—ED.

from whom you have received attentions which diverted your thoughts from scenes in which you have had no pleasant part to act. However, that you may have my story too, I met at Baltimore a young man of the name of Ludlow, about thirty years of age ; he was taken, when an infant, by his father, to a frontier post on the Ohio, Kentucky. The expression of his countenance is very different from that of civilized life ; he has a wild enthusiastic eye, and yet so mingled with the serene softness of the Indian character as to be enchanting ; temperate both in eating and drinking, perhaps from frequently wanting both for a length of time, while besieged in the fort or kept a prisoner by the Indians. But I am forgetting my story in the praises of the recounter. There is a certain Irishman in his neighbourhood, of the name of Weldon, who has realized a fortune of some magnitude by catching wild horses on the Spanish territory, which he has permission to do on paying one-eighth of a dollar for each horse he catches, to the government. This he performs in the following manner. He sets out on a trained horse, with a coil of rope, one end of which is fastened round his steed's neck, and the other is tied in a slip-knot ; the coil lies over his arm. Having pitched upon the horse which he means to take out of the first herd he meets, he rides full speed at him, and, with a dexterity which is seldom foiled, throws the noose over the head of the flying animal. His own horse, as soon as he finds the rope is thrown, stops short, squats upon his breech, and throwing up his head the bite which was round his neck bears behind his ears, while the tightened rope draws the noose closer against the wind-pipe of the other, which being thus choked falls to the ground, and is immediately manacled."

“ *Philadelphia, June 30th, 1800.* Mr. Dickinson asserts that the accomplishment of the union will bring further indulgence to the political sinners of your country. I have no such idea, notwithstanding the favours which I have received in your person from the Chancellor, its professed advocate. By-the-bye I have read his speech on this subject, which proves one thing evidently, that the present, or rather the late government of Ireland, was disgraced by a shameless, corrupt, oligarchic aristocracy, whose power ought to be done away, as Robespierre said about Paine, ‘ for the good of both countries.’ ”

CHAPTER XIII.

Mr. Griffith's sketch of a petition—Reasons for rejecting it—Letter from Lord Castlereagh, with permission for Mr. Rowan to go to Denmark—Leaves America—embarks for Hamburg—Journal of his voyage—Fellow-passengers—Madam Beche—Young Dane—German flute—Boarded by a privateer—Altercation with the captain—Sea-sickness—The two mates—Democracy, by whom stigmatized—Fair Hill—Arrives at Hamburg—waits on the British minister—goes to Lubec—Petition to the King—O'Byrne induces Mr. Steele to promote its success—Letter from Lord Clare—Griffith waits on Lord Pelham—Messrs. Fitzgerald and Byrne pardoned—Rowan's pardon under consideration—Letter from Mr. Steele—Allowed to reside in England—Lawyers' opinion that his pardon ought to be passed under the great seal of Ireland—Interview with Lord Castlereagh—Applies to the Duke of Portland for leave to reside in Ireland—Pleads his pardon in the King's Bench, Dublin—Addresses the Court.

The year after my arrival in America, but before I had made any essay towards independence, I received a letter (of which the following is an extract) from a most valued and sincere friend in Ireland, though of very different political sentiments, advising me to petition government for a pardon; and he sent me a sketch of such a petition as *he* thought would restore me with honour to my friends and country, but which I could not subscribe.

RICHARD GRIFFITH, ESQ. TO A. H. ROWAN, ESQ.

“ 1796.

“Mrs. Rowan has, I doubt not, acquainted you with the friendly conduct of the Lord Chancellor, and of the strong disposition he feels, and has unequivocally expressed, to assist in obtaining your pardon. I thought it advisable therefore to show him your letter to me. When he read it he seemed affected by it, and said he wished you would express the same sentiments in form of a petition to his Majesty, written and signed by yourself, and send it to Mrs. Rowan, as he did not doubt it might be a means of obtaining a free pardon for you when peace was made. Let me therefore entreat my dear friend to lose no time in fulfilling his desire. I have sketched my idea of the nature of this petition in the following words, and you may either adopt or write such an one as you think fit.

*“ To the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, the Humble
Petition of Archibald Hamilton Rowan.*

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ Misguided by false lights, and hurried away by presumptuous self-sufficiency, your petitioner dared for a moment to entertain the wild idea of endeavouring, by aid of your Majesty’s enemies, to reform what he deemed the grievances of his native country ; but by the intervention of Divine Providence the scheme of destruction was frustrated, and your petitioner, abashed and confounded, fled from the justice of that country. Fortunately for your petitioner, he took refuge with a nation whose maxims of liberty, and whose boldness in

overturning every order in society, he had been taught to admire and revere. Your petitioner remained a year in Paris during the reign of Robespierre, and was in much less than half that time fully convinced by the most incontrovertible evidence, produced by each succeeding day's experience, that no evils in government can equal in severity and duration the calamities necessarily attendant on calling into action the power of the mob ; a truth which, until it was proved by the concurring testimony of facts passing before his eyes, your petitioner was as far from believing as he is now from doubting. Disgusted by the scenes of carnage which hourly occupied the public attention during his stay at Paris, your petitioner at length obtained permission (after repeated entreaty) to leave a country doomed to misery by the same presumptuous confidence in false philosophy which had misguided your petitioner. Your petitioner having proceeded to America, and having had full time to reflect on the folly and turpitude of his conduct, is strongly impressed with the desire of making the only atonement in his power to his injured country, by a public confession of his guilt.

“ He therefore humbly implores your Majesty graciously to accept the deep contrition of a heart truly penitent for past errors, and fraught with the warmest attachment to the British constitution and to your Majesty's person and government.

“ And your petitioner, as in duty bound, will pray.”

MR. ROWAN'S ANSWER RESPECTING THE FOREGOING
PETITION, THROUGH MRS. ROWAN.

“ *December, 1796.*

“One of the enclosures which I have received by Mr. Reilly makes it necessary for me to trouble you with

this letter. Expecting that I should comply with the advice of Mr. Griffith, you may neglect interesting your friends in your behalf. I must therefore be explicit; and as all the late news tend to peace, I cannot be suspected of secret hopes. I never will sign any petition or declaration in favour of the British constitution in Ireland which embraces such flagrant abuses as I have witnessed, and of which I have been in some measure the victim; yet this seems requisite to be an integral part of any application to be made in my favour. I would have promised a perfect quiescence under the present government, and should have been sincerely grateful to those who had it in their power to crush my family through me, yet forbore. But my opinions were not hastily adopted; they were neither the result of pride, of ambition, nor of vanity; they were the result of the most mature reflection of which I was capable: they cannot alter; and though I might desist from acting on them, I never will disown them. If such conduct be expected from me, that I may be enabled to make over my fortune to you and to the children, you should consult your friends upon what mode would be the best for you to pursue, for I am determined."

[Mrs. Rowan was far from acting on the latter suggestion; but finding that the hope of a free pardon at that time must be abandoned, she used all the interest in her power to procure permission for her husband to quit America, and go to any country not at war with Great Britain. Mr. Griffith warmly seconded her efforts, by writing to the Lord Chancellor, and calling on him repeatedly to urge her suit. To the Chancellor's honor, be it

recorded that he always evinced a cordial sympathy in the sufferings and deprivations of Mrs. Rowan and her family ; that he gave her most judicious advice as to the management of her affairs, and suggested such a course of conduct to Mr. Rowan, as led ultimately to the accomplishment of her wishes. At length, in September, 1799, she was gratified by the receipt of the following letter from Lord Castlereagh, with whom Mr. Rowan's father was well acquainted :—]

LETTER FROM LORD CASTLEREAGH TO MRS. H. ROWAN.

“ Dublin Castle, 9th September, 1799.

“ MADAM,

“ My Lord Lieutenant having, by desire of the Lord Chancellor, stated to his Grace the Duke of Portland, that Mr. Hamilton Rowan was anxious to proceed to Denmark from America, but that he was afraid he might be apprehended in his passage by one of his Majesty's cruisers ; I am directed to acquaint you that in consequence of the favourable report made by the Lord Chancellor, of Mr. Rowan's conduct since he resided in America, he will be secured (as far as his Majesty's government is concerned) in the refuge which may be granted to him in Denmark or elsewhere, as long as he continues to demean himself in such a manner as not to give offence.

“ I have the honour to be, Madam,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ CASTLEREAGH.”

[Much inquiry and discussion as to that part of Europe in which it would be most eligible for them to meet, had taken place between Mr. and Mrs. Rowan. Portugal was mentioned; but Rowan was adverse to a "petticoat government." Switzerland? A noble Bernois had assured him, that the reformists in the cantons waited only for the settlement of France to make alterations at home. Sweden, Denmark, Holstein, Hanover, Weimar, were each the subject of consideration. Mrs. Rowan speaks of Brunswick as a desirable place, particularly for William, who had expressed a strong determination to go into the army. Again she says, "Berlin would be my wish, particularly if I could get letters of recommendation to Lord Carysfort, the English minister there, who spoke with friendship concerning you." At last it was determined that he should go to Hamburgh;* and accordingly he lost no time in making preparation for

* Hamburgh would have afforded no security to an Irish exile without a protection from the British government. This at least may be inferred from the case of "J. N. Tandy, who attained the rank of general of brigade in the French service. He was seized upon the *neutral territory* of Hamburgh, and brought to Ireland, and tried at the spring assizes for the county of Donegal, in 1801; but by a compromise he pleaded guilty, and was suffered to leave the kingdom, and take up his residence in France. This afforded, afterwards, a specious pretext for the occupation of Hamburgh by Bonaparte, and was adduced by him as an example and justification for his violation of the neutral territory of Baden, when he seized the Duc D'Enghein."—*History of the French Revolution*, Glasgow, 1829.—ED.

his departure. A journal of his voyage, in form of a letter addressed to Mrs. Rowan, has been preserved, of which the following is a copy, somewhat abridged :—]

RETURN TO EUROPE IN THE YEAR 1800.

“ Not having any hopes of meeting my best beloved at Hamburgh, I prepare this letter on board, which will announce my arrival, and be a sort of journal of the passage. On going to Philadelphia the last day of June, to enquire whether there were any vessels getting ready for Hamburgh, I found the brig Sally, Captain M'Call, which was to sail on the 6th of July. I returned immediately to Wilmington, determined to take my passage in her. I commissioned a friend to pay the forty guineas; for which sum I was to be provided with every thing. I collected all my engagements, and found that by drawing on you for £50 at ninety days' sight, and £100 more at six months after sight, I should wash my hands of every thing in America, and leave it with about twenty guineas in my pocket. On Monday, July 7th, I went to Newcastle; the captain told me that he had express orders not to take me on board without a passport. I gave him one of the two copies you sent me of Lord Castlereagh's letter, which was on paper with a crown in the corner; this he appeared to be satisfied with, *as it was on stamped paper*, though not in the form he expected. I now found that I was to provide my bedding. I had sold all my own for less than a quarter of its value. The worst matrasses in Newcastle were from two to three guineas each. The weather was excessively hot, and I determined to use the phaeton coat as a bed, and tack

some towels together, if necessary, to have sheets, as I could not get at my linen. On Tuesday morning early I embarked, with a bag of bird-seed and a red bird, a dozen of potatoes, a young opossum,* and Sally. This opossum has disappeared since I came on board; whether he has died, or has fallen a sacrifice to a meagre tabby cat that is on board, I know not; but if the latter, I hope he will be accepted as an equivalent for my red bird and a fine bullfinch belonging to a German lady, a passenger. This lady is one of the numerous instances of the reverses in American credit. Her brother and her husband were, two years since, in the first line of commercial opulence; they are now completely ruined. The husband fled, and she follows him.....

"*July 11th.* We have now been two days out of the pilot's hands, and have a fine breeze. Last night the opossum came down by one of the ropes from the top; the men at the helm cried out 'there was a rat eating the main stay;' all hands flew upon deck; the opossum was seized, but not secured, for he is gone again.

"*July 13th.* Until yesterday evening we had a tolerably fair wind. Having now a little better acquaintance with my fellow-passengers, I will introduce them to you, and begin, as I ought, with the lady. Madam Beche is rather handsome, and once was the belle of *Hamburgh*; she suckles a child of about eighteen months old, which is indulged in every thing; she crams, or permits it to be crammed with all sorts of salt meat, sugar-plums, sweetmeats, rhubarb, magnesia, goat's milk, punch, and gin toddy. I should be sorry to take as much of the latter

* KALM, in his *Travels in North America*, says "the opossum can be tamed so as to follow people like a dog."

as either the child or its mother does. And the mother wonders what can make her child so ill ! This same lady thinks that hemp and canary-seed are bad for her bullfinch ; so I have undertaken the care of it, and I do not know whether I am most in favour for not letting him partake with my red bird, or out of favour because I never cram the child or take him in my arms. As I cannot *Deutsch sprechen*, I have not much of their clack. There is another passenger in the steerage, a young Dane, whose relations live at Altona ; he has promised, if I choose to remain at Altona, to procure me lodging in a private house. This perhaps may induce me to give up my former ideas of going to some neighbouring village, there to await your will and pleasure.

“ *Monday, July 14th.* Inauspicious day ! foul wind and foul weather ! We have, however, caught a dolphin, which is an occurrence worthy of notice at sea.

“ *Wednesday, July 16th.* Foul wind these four days, and hard gusts for the last thirty-six hours. I do pity the poor woman with all her fancies ; but I pity the maid more, for such has been her sickness, that she fainted three times successively ; notwithstanding, she is hept running up and down for Charles, and when she seizes a moment of respite she is called a lazy slut !

“ *Thursday, July 17th.* Bad wind and foul weather. Our passengers rise very late, which you know was always irksome to me, but at sea it is intolerable. By way of a silent employment, I once set about answering all your letters over again ; but from the first attempt I found I had better be quiet. Some strings which had ceased to vibrate again showed symptoms of convulsion, so I laid down my pen and took up my German flute. Do you believe it ? I can play ‘ *God Save the King* ’ and ‘ *Foot’s*

Minuet' so that you could know them ! At first, indeed, it might have passed for the '*Carmagnole*' or '*Marseillois Hymn*;' but during the long evenings last winter, I could imagine no easier way of keeping myself out of bed and awake, than discord, and having only Robinson with me, whom I seldom saw in the evening, I bought this instrument and *tootle-tooed* until ten o'clock. Miserable as my habitation was on the Brandywine, I left it with regret about three weeks before I departed from Wilmington to lodge at a Miss Hanson's. She had the care of three of her nieces, the eldest of whom, about ten years old, who has lost her father, took such a fancy for me, that I begin to entertain hopes that I may not be disagreeable to my own children. She lamented that she had not a father like me, and she would never quit him ! But this little lass had begged her aunt not to take me as a boarder, having been prejudiced against me ; while my bairns will look for me with impatience, and be disappointed in the object of their distant admiration.

" *July 18th.* About noon this day we were boarded by what we supposed to be a British armed cruiser of twenty-two guns, although she showed only American colours. This vessel detained us until near five o'clock, during which time a fair wind had died away. The lieutenant had carried off my collection of letters, together with the captain's papers ; they are, however, returned, and with much apparent reluctance we are permitted to continue our rout.

" *July 19th.* Since I wrote the above I have suffered a good deal from the ill humour of the captain. Unfortunately for me, the privateer's men would not believe me to be the person I passed for, but insisted that I was either a Dutchman or a Frenchman, and that part of the cargo

was mine ; and I am told ' by a sailor whom they kept on board while they detained us, that the captain and all his officers were employed in looking over your letters for the greater part of the first five hours of our detention ; while at intervals they attempted to bribe him to say that the cargo was foreign property. This being repeated to the captain, he was so exasperated at being detained, as he said, on my account, that as soon as we were clear he insisted on my throwing ' those *damned letters*' over board. An altercation ensued, during which he said many improper things, which I rebutted with great calmness. Indeed I ought to be ashamed that I do not always exercise that power of restraining my sensations which I exert at some moments. The only inconvenience I now feel is, that my bird sings so loudly and so early that he must be removed. Fortunately the weather is fine, and the wind fair, but we are as yet only on a parallel with Boston. I begin to fear that our German lady is a tattler, which is synonymous to a mischief-maker ; this, however, does not affect me, as my only communication is with her bullfinch, which would die if I neglected it. The poor servant continues sick whenever there is any motion in the ship. It seems to be the general opinion that she may die and be damned. I gave her two boxes of peppermint lozenges, which appeared to have good effect. I would advise you to furnish yourself with the essence, as well as with some of those lozenges.

" *July 20th.* Fair wind, and running seven or eight knots an hour. Whose is the log that can count the rapidity with which my heart flits to meet its counterpart ? Yet I acknowledge my moments of desponding :

' I that loved her so well, grew old now as you see :
Love liketh not the falling fruit, not yet the withered tree.'

OLD SONG.

And whatever you may say, neither my mind nor my manners are improved by my residence on the western continent ; and God knows at all times it was a strange medley of contrarieties.

“ *July 21st.* Foul wind and bad weather. An exact attention to discipline and an unembarrassed behaviour to the captain seem to have soothed his Eminence, which I am not sorry for ; an evidence of this is, that he this day called me to dinner himself, instead of sending the steward. No sooner in with the captain, than out with the mate. About four in the evening I took my flute ; the mate came down, and, by way of a gentle hint, said, ‘ damn that flute, I wish it was pitched into the sea ; I shall get no sleep.’ I made no answer, but went upon deck, cursing within myself.

“ *July 25th.* Foul wind from the 21st. This day on the banks of Newfoundland ; the wind being foul, we lay to and caught above fifty fine cod in the space of two hours. The cod, when taken out of the water and boiled immediately after, is by no means so excellent as in London ; and I was surprised to find none of that curd between the flakes, which we look upon as the sign of fresh fish.

“ *July 28th.* Fair wind took us while we were on the fishing ground, but the weather was foggy and cold. Since our success in fishing, we have literally eaten nothing else.

“ *August 1st.* With the exception of one day, we have had fair though light winds. It continues very cold, and I have laid out only my summer-dress ; but I will not venture to ask the hatches to be taken up in order to get another, although I am in such favour I believe I might do so safely. Our dead lights being up, the cabin is very dismal. In every instance where one

is to cope with ignorance, arrogance is the surest weapon. The two mates eat at our table ; the first is a young, conceited, forward chap, and, contrary to the usual custom of sailors, extremely fond of his belly ; without ceremony helping himself to the milk of Madam's goat for his coffee, which I never touch, though invited ; he manages the captain well ; while the other, an elderly Dane, always employed, never noisy, would scarcely get anything at the table but the refuse, if the passengers did not pay him more attention than his employer. I find he was first mate of a Danish vessel, the captain of which died in the passage ; he then took the command. The cargo and vessel were sold in Philadelphia, and he might have retained his command if he would have sailed in her under Danish colours ; but as she was now American property, his conscience forbade him, and he was turned adrift, to get back as well as he could ; and he works his passage on board this vessel. Blush, ye great ones, at this and many similar instances of integrity in a class who do not put even *Esquire* after their names ! Democracy is only stigmatized as the Reformation, the Revolution, and every other great change has been, because many enlist under its banners who are in fact aristocrats—many that have no principles—many who wish only to be enabled to lead dissolute lives, free from censure ; and these making commonly the greatest noise, they obstruct the progress of truth, and bring shame and trouble on those who are virtuous and sincere.

“ *August 3rd.* This day a heavy sea swept our decks ; we recovered our boats, and have suffered no material injury.

“ *August 8th.* We have a continuation of fair wind, but very unpleasant weather. I do regret my penury in not procuring bedding. The sun, however, begins to

peep, and they say we are only sixty miles from Fair Hill, an island between Scotland and Shetland.

"*August 11th.* Here have we been beating these three days. This morning we saw land ; the captain says it is Fair Hill ; but the old Dane says, in private, that it is another island on which he was once nearly lost.

"*August 13th.* The Dane was right. This morning we fell in with Fair Hill, and were boarded by a number of miserable fishermen, whose trade seems to be begging from ships as they pass. We gave them some old clothes, and they loaded us with blessings. As we shall now enter the North Sea, we look upon our voyage as being nearly at an end ; in consequence, a thousand different plans suggest themselves to me. At Altona I will remain until I have enquired for letters ; but it is likely I shall meet the same fate as I did in Philadelphia ; I will allow, however, that my disappointment will be less surprising to me, as you had no great reason to suppose I could have arranged my affairs so as to quit America this summer, until you received the letters which I wrote on the eve of my departure. Having made these enquiries, I shall, I think, go to Wansbeck, within a few miles of Altona, in the Danish dominions. How do I dread that at last your affairs will prevent you from meeting me until next year ! I am sensible how great your efforts must be to accomplish it. No, that maxim is not true which holds it ridiculous to expect that the same tender fondness should subsist between married persons at a more advanced age, which charmed their juvenile connection. My heart beats, I am certain, with as high throbs of affection and anxiety for our expected meeting, as if I were of that age when you blessed me with the charms of seventeen."

" *Hamburgh, August 17th.* I arrived here, as my letters from Cuxhaven have already enabled you to judge I would, on this morning. The mail leaves this to-morrow. I have letters to deliver, and lodgings to procure, so for this day adieu."

We had been but three days at sea, when we were brought to by a British privateer, who, in examining our papers, hit on a box of mine containing several letters from Messrs. Franklin, Jefferson, Rodney, and others, which I had received while in America. These he thought it necessary to examine rigidly, and kept us following his course, instead of our own, for two days. This delay put the captain so much out of humour, which he said was owing to me, that to pacify him I threw the box which contained them into the sea, and thus lost several which I now regret. On my arrival in Hamburgh I waited on Sir James Crawford, British minister at that place, and shewed him the above letter. He said it did not authorise me to expect those attentions usually reciprocal between British subjects and their minister. As this occasioned my determination to leave Hamburgh, that emporium of merchandise and mischief, I went to Lubec, where I remained six months.

[Mrs. Rowan "heard with ecstasy" of her husband's safe arrival at Hamburgh, and made instant preparation to meet him. Having received letters

from Lord Clare, to facilitate her getting passports in London, she commenced her journey with her son William, and her daughters Jane and Bess. On her arrival at Shrewsbury, she wrote to inform Rowan of her progress. "As soon," says she, "as I have fixed a day for leaving London, I will write, in hopes that you will come to Cuxhaven, to meet a woman whose affection for you is unbounded, and who at this instant is scarcely capable of writing, from the agitation occasioned by the prospect of our soon being united."

Rowan had been but a short time in Hamburgh before he discovered that there are worse places than Wilmington or Philadelphia. He there met with people whom he was anxious to avoid, and soon found himself surrounded and tormented by "fools and knaves." This confirmed his determination to quit that "emporium of mischief." At Lubec he found it impossible to settle his family comfortably, as he could not procure a furnished house; nor was any habitation to be hired, but immense old dismantled palaces, for which enormous prices were demanded. At last he was induced to think of Altona, where there were many English, and some Irish residents, and a number of French emigrants of rank. There he rented and furnished a handsome house. Having letters of introduction to many opulent merchants, both German and English, he soon found himself with his family in the midst of a pleasant society. From Sir G. Roembald, who succeeded Sir James

Crawford at Hamburgh, he received every mark of kind and polite attention. Here he remained till the year 1803; and in the interval various exertions were made by his friends to procure his pardon.]

As I rejected the petition which I could not sign, I will now insert a copy of one which I transmitted to his Majesty in July, 1802 :—

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“ The humane protection afforded under your Majesty’s government to your petitioner’s wife and family, while crimes were imputed to him which might have rendered him liable to the severest penalties of the law, and he had taken refuge among your Majesty’s enemies, has made an indelible impression on his mind. He could not avoid comparing, with the strongest feelings of gratitude, the situation of his dearest connections with the forlorn state which the families of emigrants experienced in the country to which he had fled. Under these sensations, in the year 1795, your petitioner withdrew himself from France and retired to America, being determined to avoid even the imputation of being instrumental in disturbing the tranquillity of his own country. During above five years’ residence in the United States, your petitioner resisted all inducements to a contrary conduct, and remained there quiet and retired, until your Majesty, extending your royal benevolence, was graciously pleased to permit his return to Europe to join his wife and children. Impressed with the most unfeigned attachment to your Majesty’s government, in gratitude for these favours, conscious of the excellence of the British consti-

tution, in which your petitioner sees with heartfelt satisfaction his native country participating under the late happy union, effected by your Majesty's paternal wisdom and affection ; and assured that his conduct will not belie these sentiments, your petitioner approaches your Majesty's throne at this auspicious moment, praying that your Majesty will condescend to extend your royal clemency to your petitioner in such manner as your Majesty in your wisdom may think proper."

My old and valued friend O'Byrne induced Mr. Steele, who was then paymaster-general, to interest himself in the success of this petition. He had been my old school-fellow and fellow-collegian at Cambridge ; but in after life we had lost sight of each other, until he so kindly took up this business. My friend Mr. Griffith now wrote to Lord Clare concerning my petition, who returned him the following answer :—

" MY DEAR SIR,

" The weight of business which presses on me in the Court of Chancery at this time renders it impracticable for me to attend to any other subject. I can readily conjecture the object of the petition which you wish to shew me, and do not hesitate to say that patience under his most unpleasant situation, for a few months, will be the best policy on the part of Mr. H. Rowan, and whenever a definitive treaty of peace is settled will be the time to petition the crown ; and when that takes place, I should hope that his friends will be enabled to support his petition with effect.

" I am, dear Sir, &c. &c.

" CLARE."

Unfortunately for my affairs, Lord Clare died before the definitive treaty was concluded, and I thus lost, I suppose, a sincere friend, as he had taken up my cause unsolicited, and unknown to me.

Mr. Griffith's private affairs having taken him about this time to London, he waited on Lord Pelham. From his Lordship's conversation on this subject, he collected that there was a good disposition towards me, but that the idea of an immediate pardon *had not been received by those to whom the subject was communicated, in such a way as to enable him to say that it could be accomplished without delay.*

I now offered, if it could in the least expedite or facilitate the business, that I would not return to Ireland, but reside in England, or elsewhere, as government should point out. I wrote to Lord Carysfort, who returned me a most polite answer, saying he had seen Lord Pelham; that Mr. Steele had already been with his Lordship, who said that my affair was already in good hands. Lord Castlereagh took no notice whatever of three letters which I had troubled him with, after his communication with Mrs. Rowan.

In the course of this summer Lord Castlereagh was in the county of Down, and while there he said to my father that nothing could be done *until parliament met.*

In December I wrote to Mr. Steele, urging the extreme embarrassment which my affairs were

plunged in, and stating my intention to return to America in spring, if I were unsuccessful in my petition.

About February, Sir G. R. who had replaced Sir James Crawford, desired to see me ; when he suggested an idea of my requesting permission to reside some weeks in London on my private affairs, which he said he thought would not be refused to me, and he hoped would expedite the business ; at least he thought I should ascertain the chance I had of a pardon. Mrs. H. R. would not listen to this measure, and I dropped it.

In the latter end of this month Sir G. Shee, the under-secretary of state, through whose hands the Irish affairs mostly passed, wrote to Messrs. Fitzgerald and Byrne, telling them that his Majesty having given orders for their pardon to be made out, under such conditions as should appear necessary, there could be no inconvenience attending their return to England. I since find, by a letter from Mr. Fitzgerald, that they are precluded from returning to Ireland for the present. Mr. F. G. mentioned also in his letter, that Lord Pelham as well as Sir G. Shee had spoken handsomely of me, and of my pardon being under consideration ; and Lord Pelham desired Mr. Fitzgerald, when he wrote to me, to say that he desired I would not quit Altona.

On the 1st of May I received a letter from Mr. Steele, of which the following is a copy :—

“ 22d April, 1803..

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Our friend O’Byrne has from time to time assured me, that he would not fail to explain to you the cause of my silence ; and I flatter myself that he has so far kept his promise, as to have satisfied you that it has not proceeded from any want of inclination on my part to show you all the attention, and to give you every assistance in my power to afford you. I regret the unavoidable delay which has taken place ; but I am inclined to hope that there is a disposition on the part of his Majesty’s present ministers to view your case in a favourable light, and to grant you every indulgence that, under all circumstances, you can in reason expect of them at the present moment. My object in writing to you at present, is to know from yourself whether, in case the King’s pardon *can* be obtained to enable you to come and reside in England, *on condition that you do not set your foot in Ireland until his Majesty’s licence shall be obtained for that purpose*, you will feel satisfied for the present, and accept it on these terms ? or whether the mere permission to come to England is of no value to you, unless you can be restored to the full possession and enjoyment of liberty to return to your native country, and reside there without molestation ? I am not authorised to promise you that the cabinet will go even this length ; but I am induced to think they will, from something that has passed this morning ; and I therefore write in haste, rather than lose a single day in communicating my sentiments to you.

“ I hope this letter will arrive safe at the place of its destination, and must beg you will forward your answer to me in whatever manner you think best.

“ In the mean time, I remain yours very faithfully,
“ THOMAS STEELE.”

A. H. ROWAN TO THOMAS STEELE, ESQ.

*" Altona, May 3d, 1803.**" DEAR SIR,*

" I received your letter of the 22d April, for which I return you my sincere thanks. I am perfectly aware of the many impediments which present themselves when there is a question of granting me a pardon. If it could be obtained on the condition you mention, of not going to Ireland without his Majesty's license for that purpose, I should think myself favoured, and would accept it with a degree of gratitude which I might attempt to describe, but which will be best seen by my future demeanor. Nine years' banishment and a sorrowful experience, which has altered many of my opinions, I hope will be accepted as some atonement; and I dare affirm that there will not be one to whom his Majesty's pardon has been extended, who will feel the favour more sensibly, or attempt with more zeal to repair his former errors, by future example and precept, than I should. I flatter myself you will continue your kind exertions in my behalf, and believe me when I say how highly I value, and how much I am indebted to your friendship.

*" I am, &c. &c.**" A. H. ROWAN."*

THOMAS STEELE, ESQ. TO A. H. ROWAN.

*" Mansfield-street, May 18th, 1803.**" DEAR SIR,*

" It is with infinite satisfaction that I announce to you the determination of the cabinet, to commend to the King to grant you his pardon on the

condition mentioned in my last letter, and on your entering into the usual recognizances that are required in cases of this sort. If the state of affairs in your neighbourhood should be such as to make your residence in Altona for a few days longer very uncomfortable, you may venture to set out for England immediately after you shall receive this letter, and on your arrival at Harwich you will find the officers at that port instructed to suffer you to pass without molestation ; but as his Majesty's warrant cannot receive the royal signature for some days, it may be more prudent to remain where you are until you shall hear from me ; and I shall abstain from writing again, till your letter shall reach me. I have this moment received authority from the Secretary of State to communicate these particulars to you, and am unwilling to lose one day's post in making you acquainted therewith.

“ I write in haste, and am yours very faithfully,

“ THOMAS STEELE.”

A. H. ROWAN TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE VISCOUNT
CASTLEREAGH.

“ *Altona, May 30th, 1803.*

“ MY LORD,

“ I embrace the first opportunity of acknowledging the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 23d instant, (congratulating me on the news which I had received by the prior mail,) and thanking you for this mark of polite attention to me.

“ I shall lose no time in rendering myself in London, but hope that the affairs in this part of the world will permit me to wait for Mrs. Rowan's convalescence.

“ I am extremely concerned that your Lordship should

have had the trouble of writing a second letter, as the one to Hamburg will probably find its way here, after some delay. When I arrive in London, I shall do myself the honour of paying my respects to you in person.

“ I am, my Lord, your obedient servant,

“ A. H. ROWAN.”

Having arrived in London on the 16th of June, I went the next day to the Secretary of State's office with Mr. Steele. He introduced me to Mr. Pollock, who showed me the King's warrant for pardon, which contained all the beneficial clauses of re-grant, &c. and was as full in every respect as it could be, excepting the condition of requiring two sureties for £10,000 not to go to Ireland. Mr. Pollock said one week would be sufficient to pass the different offices ; and Mr. Steele requested him to attend to it, and as soon as the instrument returned to his office, to inform him ; and he with my friend Mr. Griffith offered to become my sureties.

My agent arrived from Ireland, bringing with him the opinions of eminent counsel, which all agreed that a pardon under the great seal of Britain alone would avail me no otherwise than as to my personal liberty in England. I here copy the opinion of two eminent lawyers on that subject, which I received through Mr. Marsden.

“ *Dublin Castle, October 27th, 1802.*

“ We are of opinion, that the pardon to Mr. Hamilton Rowan ought to be passed under the great seal of Ire-

land ; and we apprehend it is irregular in Mr. Rowan to solicit such pardon and the restitution of his lands in Ireland from his Majesty in the first instance ; and that such application ought to be made to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

“ S. O'GRADY.

“ W. C. PLUNKETT.”

During the whole of Mr. Addington's administration all my applications to go over to Ireland to plead my pardon were unavailing ; and I was told that the government had already done all that was in their contemplation by permitting me to reside in England. On a change of the administration, I drew up a memorial which I took to Lord Castlereagh ; he read it over, and when he came to the part which related to my children, he inquired into their ages, and then with a great appearance of good nature, asked me whether I should choose to send one of them to the East Indies in the military line ; or perhaps I might choose to send one to the academy at Woolwich. I apologised to him for desiring time to consider before I accepted an offer which I was certain many persons solicited from him ; but that I had taken much pains to instil into the mind of the only one who was of an age to profit by his friendly offer, the wish to become a merchant, and if I found I had succeeded, I should be sorry to change or force his inclination. When I informed him of the refusal of the Chancellor to affix the great seal to the pardon, he asked

me whether I was acquainted with his motives. I answered that I was ignorant of them, and did not wish to know more than whether it was founded on any misrepresentation of my conduct either here or in Germany. He assured me that ministers were well satisfied as to my past, and secure as to my future behaviour.

Had Lord Ellenborough, when he refused to put the great seal to the pardon prepared through Mr. Steele, informed me of the difficulty, it would have saved me some years of anxiety.

But previous to any further step being taken, a change in the ministry induced me to apply to the Duke of Portland to alter the form of the pardon, that I might be permitted to enjoy a permanent instead of a temporary residence in Ireland. This being acceded to, in a few days I went over to Ireland and pleaded my pardon in the King's Bench.

The following is an extract from one of the morning papers, relative to the proceedings on that occasion :—

“ Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan was brought up by *habeas corpus*, to assign error upon the record of outlawry against him for high treason. His counsel then moved that the outlawry should be reversed, for errors which were then delivered in to the proper officer. The Attorney-General then, by virtue of his Majesty's warrant, confessed the errors ; and the proceedings in outlawry were reversed accordingly. Mr. Rowan was then put to plead to the original indictment for high treason ; upon which he pleaded his Majesty's most gracious pardon,

which being read and allowed, he was told that he was discharged.

“ Mr. Rowan then addressed the court. He begged to be permitted in a few words to express his heartfelt gratitude for the clemency of his sovereign.

“ ‘ When I last (said he) had the honour to stand in this court before your Lordship, I said that I did not know the King otherwise than as the head of the state—as a magistrate wielding the force of the executive power. I now know him by his clemency—by that clemency which has enabled me once more to meet my wife and children ; to find them not only unmolested, but cherished and protected during my absence in a foreign country, and my legal incapacity of rendering to them the assistance of a husband and a father. Were I to be insensible of that clemency, I should be indeed an unworthy man ! All are liable to error. The consequences have taught me deeply to regret some of the violent measures which I then pursued. Under the circumstances in which I stand, were I to express all I feel upon this subject, it might be attributed to base and unworthy motives ; but your Lordships are aware how deeply I must be affected by my present situation, and will give me credit for what I cannot myself express.’ ”

Lord Chief Justice Downes. “ Mr. Rowan, from the sentiments which you have expressed, I have reason to hope that your future conduct will prove that his Majesty’s pardon has not been unworthily granted.”

I then left the court, and in a few days returned to London.

[Various influences were employed to secure the

success of Mr. Rowan's memorial for pardon ; and among these, that of the Marquis of Abercorn was not the least instrumental. Between that nobleman and Mr. Rowan a friendly correspondence had been carried on in the year 1793. Though differing widely in their political views, the former had great esteem for Rowan's personal character, and for his "manliness and sincerity." Each expressed an earnest solicitude for the good of Ireland, but held opposite views of the mode in which that good was to be effected. The Marquis writes :—

"When we meet, I shall with great pleasure discuss the subjects touched upon in your letter, because I am sure that even where we differ in opinion, (which I very much question whether ultimately we shall,) the discussion will be friendly and good-humoured. All I will say now is, that I should doubly defy bad, interested, and cunning men, if they had not the fortune to get men of honour, sense, and integrity, (on abstract principles,) to fight their battles for them." Again he writes :—"I would throw down my gauntlet to all the world, and maintain that that world does not hold one man more attached to Ireland and its real interests and happiness than myself."

After Mr. Rowan's incarceration the correspondence dropped. But in 1804, in consequence of some friendly attentions paid to his son, who had entered the navy, and of some kind expressions made by the Marquis in regard to himself, Mr. Rowan addressed him, reminding him of their

former friendship, and requesting his influence with Lord Hawkesbury to have the prayer of his memorial granted. In reply, he was assured by his Lordship, that “without looking back to past irremediable circumstances, he would have great pleasure in being instrumental in relieving him from his embarrassments.” He adds, “Your son is a fine gallant young fellow, whose conduct has done him great credit.” Indeed the Marquis of Abercorn seems to have taken a particular interest in behalf of this son, (afterwards Captain Hamilton,) as he mentions his name repeatedly in his letters. In one he writes, “I have had a very favourable answer from Lord Nelson on the subject of your son.” And in another, after congratulating Mr. Rowan on the termination of his difficulties and embarrassments, he subjoins :—“I am afraid the death of Lord Nelson has been an irreparable loss to my young friend your son.”

Mr. Rowan, as might be anticipated, was congratulated warmly and sincerely by numerous friends ; and most if not all of his political opponents were well pleased that he should be restored to his country and family. Lords Carysfort, Castlereagh, and Carhampton were foremost in expressions of kindness. In private life he had no enemies ; and those who had been adverse to him on public grounds suffered their hostility to be absorbed in respect for the virtues which adorned his character, as a husband, a father, and a philanthropist.

CHAPTER XIV.

Mr. Rowan returns to Ireland—his character as a landlord—Meeting of his tenants—Assists the silk-manufacturers—Courtied by strangers—Percy Bysshe Shelley—His correspondents—Letter from Margarot—John Hancock—William Poole—Cæsar Rodney—Rowan's taste for politics—subscribes to the Catholic Association—Letter to Lord Fingall—Attacked in the House of Commons by Messrs. Dawson and Peel—Defended by Messrs. Hutchinson and Brougham.

WE are now to contemplate Mr. Rowan under a different aspect, not as a political leader—not as an exile far from his country and friends, struggling for independence among a people of uncongenial tastes and pursuits—but as a man of fortune, a landlord, husband, father, citizen, discharging the duties of his respective situations with fidelity, and enjoying the approbation of his friends.

Having remained some time in England, he returned to Ireland on the death of his father, in 1806, and chose as his chief place of residence the ancient castle of Killileagh, on his own patrimonial estate in the county of Down. As he had large, though scattered properties in different parts of Ireland, and also in England, he found ample

occupation in superintending their management, especially as he had no regular agent for some years ; but attended personally to the claims and obligations of his tenants. It now became his ambition to show them an example of a good landlord ; and accordingly he lent a patient ear to their various complaints and suggestions, redressed their grievances if they had any, and did all in the compass of his power to render them contented and happy. He reduced to practise the liberal principles of which he had always been the strenuous advocate, and proved that his actions were in no wise discordant with his words. He was no mock patriot, who could dictate a rule to others by which he would not himself abide. He could not declaim upon freedom while adhering to the principles of the slave trade ; preach reformation, without being himself reformed ; nor sacrifice a general or a public good to a partial or private interest. His own sufferings in a foreign land would have taught him some sympathy for fellow-sufferers, though his own natural disposition had been less generous and benignant. As a proof of the high estimation in which he was held, and in which he deserved to be held, as a landlord, it may suffice to state that at a time when gold was exceedingly scarce, and to be procured only by paying an enormous premium, the agents of many landlords, some of them holding titles of nobility, insisted on having their rents paid in that coin, and were known to sell, at an exorbitant profit, the very gold which was to be

paid back by their tenants at the ordinary rate as rent, before it left their office—a process by which the rich landlords were still farther enriched, while their struggling tenants were harrassed and oppressed.—Mr. Rowan not only declined such a mode of filling his coffers, but without solicitation reduced his rents, and partook with the occupants of his estate in the common distress. This fact is well attested by the following resolution passed at a meeting of his tenants held in Killileagh, on the 24th day of October, 1814.

“ *Resolved*—That our best thanks are due, and are hereby given to Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Esq. not so much for his unsolicited reduction of our rents, as for that patriotic liberality which induced him to meet and share the distress of the day with his tenantry.

“ We remember with gratitude, that even in better times he never adopted the oppressive system of exacting discounts on his rents; and whilst we recall to our recollection the Hon. Judge Fletcher’s enlightened and liberal exposition of the means by which the internal peace and concord of the country may be preserved, we venerate the man who has thus reduced it to practice.*
‘ Go ye and do likewise.’

“ Signed by order,

“ JOHN CARR.”

* “ In the opinion of Judge Fletcher, the evils of Ireland at that time arose from, 1st, the enormous paper currency; 2d, a meddling and incapable magistracy; 3d, absentee landlords; 4th, orange societies; 5th, illicit distillation; 6th, tithes.”

There was another circumstance in regard to his tenantry, which, in the estimation of some persons, argues a still greater degree of liberality than even the reduction of rents. He did not use that influence which landlords may be justly supposed to possess in constraining their political opinions or conduct. He claimed no right to the disposal of their votes in the election of representatives to parliament, but left every man free to vote according to the dictates of his own discretion. But when his counsel and advice were useful, they were not withheld ; and these he gave as a friend, not as a dictator. It was his earnest wish to promote " peace on earth and good will among men," especially among the occupants of his own estate ; and he often succeeded by a gentle word, or good-natured remonstrance, when a rude interference would have only created jealousy and discord. Of the kind mode in which he soothed irritated feelings, and prevented the outbursts of animosity, while he inculcated philanthropic principles, the subjoined address, which he got printed and circulated prior to the first of May, 1816, may serve as an example worthy of imitation.

" ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN TO HIS NEIGHBOURS.

" The 1st of May approaches. This day was rendered a scene of tumult and disorder last year, as I am told, by the accidental placing the May-pole where an ill-

omened tree* had been formerly planted. That tree, to flourish, must grow out of the famed equality of rights under the British constitution, and a real representation of the people in parliament; it must be fostered by brotherly love and universal benevolence, and not be transplanted from a foreign soil.

“ It is not the wish of any person to prevent the people from enjoying festivities handed down to us by our ancestors, and exercised without discord, or a manifest tendency thereto.

“ I know not whether a May-pole will be erected this year or not; perhaps I should say not, on account of the general distress. But if it should, as old men are fond of story-telling, I will tell you one:—

“ When I was in Germany, I lodged in a hotel the master and mistress of which were renowned for rudeness to their guests.† The custom of that country is that the travellers eat with the hostess, who sits at the head of her table. My family had experienced every attention from these people; and on leaving the house, we expressed our surprise to our German servant, who had a smattering of English. He replied—‘ You were civil against them; why should not they be civil against you ? ’ ”

“ *Killileagh, April 24th, 1816.* ”

* The French tree of liberty.

† This may remind the reader of the *Diversoria* of ERASMUS, in whose days the rude incivility of German inns afforded a fine subject for caustic and witty animadversion. *Advenientem nemo salutatur, ne videantur ambire hospitem. Id enim sordidum et abjectum existimant, et indignum Germanica severitate.—Si quid causseris, statim audis, SI NON PLACET, QUERE ALIUD DIVERSORIUM.*

Mr. Rowan's benevolence was by no means confined to his tenantry. He was universally esteemed as the poor man's friend; the manufacturing classes hailed him as a benefactor, for whose exertions in their behalf they expressed the warmest gratitude. He devoted much of his time and thoughts to meliorate the condition of the silk manufacturers of Dublin, and his efforts were not fruitless.* In 1818, the working ribbon-weavers of the city and liberties of Dublin presented him with an address expressive of their "respect and regard towards him, for the many services he had rendered them by his unwearied assiduity and attention to their interests as a MEMBER OF THE DUBLIN SOCIETY, during a long and intricate discussion of their trade.....and in particular for his benevolent act of condescension, in personally coming forward to advocate their cause in a court of justice, and thereby establishing a precedent to put down oppression." In his reply, after stating that his exertions were repaid by their affectionate approbation of his conduct, he observes, that "the prince and the peasant have their respective duties to fulfil. Great indeed is the difference between them, and from the extent of those incumbent on the upper classes, I learn how difficult it is for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. But I trust

* The lamplighters were another class, who, feeling themselves aggrieved, applied to Mr. Rowan to become their advocate; and not without success.

the prayers of the poor will not be disregarded at that awful moment when worldly distinctions are no more !”

This was followed, in the year 1823, by an address of the operative broad silk manufacturers. This address

“ MOST RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

“ That they behold, with grateful admiration, the true spirit of patriotism, loyalty, and independent perseverance ever supported and evinced by you, from youth even to venerable age, for the welfare of all classes of your fellow-countrymen ; that they now view, with peculiar satisfaction, your ardent zeal and unremitting exertions, in the evening of life, to remove the prejudice, monopoly, and oppressive taxation, under which the inhabitants of this city have long laboured and complained. That the operative broad silk manufacturers avail themselves of this opportunity of acknowledging the many and signal services individually and collectively received from you, Sir, and they now earnestly entreat you to accept of this very humble tribute of their grateful, unanimous, and most sincere thanks, &c. &c. &c.”

THE ANSWER.

“ MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

“ I feel great pleasure at all times in communicating with my fellow-citizens, and particularly with the operative silk manufacturers of Dublin, whose friendship I have so long possessed, and by whom my attentions (for services they cannot be called) are much

over-rated by your flattering expressions, independently of the elegantly adorned ticket of admission into your society, which you have done me the honor of presenting to me. With a heart throbbing for the miseries of my country, my head and hand, old and feeble as they are, acquire fresh energy when convinced that I am following the precepts laid down by our gracious Sovereign, and so ardently pursued by our benevolent Viceroy, for the 'welfare of every class of my fellow-countrymen.' As to the particular instance of the examination into the local taxation of Dublin, under which its citizens have so long groaned, its weight has been supported by abler shoulders; it has been brought before a British parliament, which has declared in favour of part of our allegations. They are still under investigation; and we may be assured of a full inquiry and ample justice. Farewell.

"A. H. ROWAN."

"29th May, 1823."

Years now rolled away unmarked by any events in Mr. Rowan's life which require particular notice. With several of his friends, both at home and abroad, he kept up a regular correspondence; and his reputation for generosity subjected him to more frequent applications for pecuniary assistance than it would be proper to disclose, while his political character induced some to expect his co-operation in projects which it would have been most imprudent and dangerous to support. Literary and scientific strangers* sought his acquaintance; and

* The Duc de Montebello, Monsieur Duvergier, and Messieurs

whether a Shelley, a Spurzheim, or an Owen came to enlighten the good citizens of Dublin, he was sure to find in Rowan a kind and hospitable friend.

In February, 1812, the celebrated poet Percy Bysshe Shelley paid a visit to Dublin, having, as he informs us, "selected Ireland as a theatre the widest and fairest for the operations of the determined friends of religious and political freedom." In pursuance of this design, he published a pamphlet entitled "*An Address to the Irish People*," with an advertisement on the title-page declaring it to be the author's "intention to awaken in the minds of the Irish poor a knowledge of their real state, summarily pointing out the evils of that state, and suggesting rational means of remedy." As the name and character of Rowan must have been familiar to Shelley, he expected to find in him a zealous coadjutor, and accordingly he sent him a copy of the pamphlet, with the following letter:—

"1, *Lower Sackville-street*, February 25th, 1812.

"SIR,

"Although I have not the pleasure of being personally known to you, I consider the motives which actuated me in writing the inclosed, sufficiently introductory to authorise me in sending you some copies,

de Thayer, being "on a voyage of discovery, and wishing very much to know what is most distinguished in this country," requested H. Lytton Bulwer, Esq. to introduce them to Rowan; a request which was complied with in the most polite terms accordingly.

and waiving ceremonials in a case where public benefit is concerned. Sir, although an Englishman, I feel for Ireland; and I have left the country, in which the chance of birth placed me, for the sole purpose of adding my little stock of usefulness to the fund which I hope that Ireland possesses to aid me in the unequal yet sacred combat in which she is engaged. In the course of a few days more I shall print another small pamphlet, which shall be sent to you. I have intentionally vulgarized the language of the inclosed. I have printed 1,500 copies, and am now distributing them throughout Dublin.

“ Sir, with respect,

I am your obedient humble servant,

“ P. B. SHELLEY.”

How the letter and pamphlet were received does not appear, though it cannot be doubted that Mr. Rowan treated the young enthusiast with his wonted courtesy and hospitality. It is probable, however, that Shelley soon discovered that Ireland was not so favourable a “theatre for his operations,” nor the Irish people of a temperament so combustible as his own ardent imagination had led him to expect.

In 1813, Mr. Rowan received a letter from Maurice Margarot, the “Scottish martyr,” who, after a tedious exile, had returned to England with his wife, this faithful companion in all his misfortunes, who, “after numberless fatigues and dangers, *dared* yet to hope for better days.” He reminds Rowan of their having met nearly twenty

years ago, after a short intercourse, to part, each to encounter a long series of tribulation and persecution. He had returned to England with "principles unchanged, a ministerial victim, pinned down to penury in a place where he can do no good." He asks "the temporary assistance of £400; as a chrysalis, warmed by the genial heat of the sun, receives therefrom animation, so that assistance will afford new life, and without producing a butterfly, will, notwithstanding, give me wings." Though Mr. Rowan's intercourse with Margarot had been very brief, and there could be no claim on the ground of past intimacy, such an appeal from an old sufferer in the same cause was not to be treated with neglect; he wrote to him kindly, and sent him a draft for £100, which was as large a sum as, at that time, he could with prudence or justice afford. Margarot, in returning his acknowledgements, says "that sum will enable him, if not to soar, at least to make his way in a more humble manner, somewhat like an ostrich." After his return to England he "endeavoured to collect the scattered fragments of a small fortune, broken to atoms in the public service." He then projected a history of New South Wales, from which, with the sanguine hopes of an inexperienced author, he anticipated a mine of riches. In reply to a letter of Rowan's, he writes:—

"With regret, but without surprise, I hear you say your spirit is broken down. Believe me, however, you

are somewhat mistaken in this ; it only sleepeth. The storm-beaten mariner does not therefore forsake the sea, but refreshed only awaits a favourable breeze to again unfurl his sails.

“ Your trip to, and adventures in America reached even New South Wales, embellished with a decent portion of scandal and calumny, for *vexat censura columbas*, &c. Your ill success in trade most likely originated in your being placed out of your sphere. My illustrious debtors, the B——s, in your place would have thriven from a contrary reason. It is much easier to assume the gentleman than to lay it aside.”

About this time, Mr. Rowan commenced a correspondence with John Hancock of Lisburn, with whose sentiments on several important subjects he accorded. “ I have long admired,” says he, “ the reasons printed by this intelligent and patriotic gentleman for withdrawing from the society of Friends ; I never met any thing so entirely agreeing with my ideas.” Much of their correspondence was occupied in the discussion of political topics, and particularly the proceedings of the Orange societies, to which both of them were exceedingly adverse. Subjects of literature and religion also occasionally engaged their attention.

It must have been gratifying to Rowan to receive such approval of his good deeds as is contained in the following extract from Mr. Hancock’s correspondence :—

“ *Lisburn, 2d month, 1817.*

“ I applaud thy exertions in favour of the silk-weavers.

I am completely with thee in thy reasonings in their favour ; and I am pleased to see thee stand forward as the tribune of the people on this occasion. The common calamity affecting all classes of the community necessarily leads to disputes between the employers and the employed, in the struggle of each class trying to shift the back-breaking load off themselves ; but I fear all will be in vain, without a total change of the system."

" *Lisburn, 2d month, 19th, 1817.*

" I perceive, by thy letter of the 18th instant, that the kindness and generosity of thy disposition have led thee into some perplexities, in endeavouring to succour the oppressed and to defend the defenceless. I hope thou wilt persevere in the task, however unpleasant, and, supported by the '*mens conscia recti*,' set at nought the difficulties which may stand in the way.....Lord Byron, who, with all his foibles, continues the poet of liberty, has in his last canto of *Childe Harold* prophesied well, and I hope truly, of the march of mind :—

" But this will not endure nor be endured ;
Mankind have felt their strength, and made it felt.
They might have used it better ; but allured
By their own vigour, sternly have they dealt
With one another. Pity ceased to melt
With her once natural charities."

" I am inclined to risque one more quotation ; he gives it as descriptive of his own character ; I consider it as decidedly worthy of imitation :—

' I have not lov'd the world, nor the world me ;
I have not flattered its rank breath, nor bowed
To its idolatries a patient knee ;
Nor coined my cheek to smiles, nor cried aloud
In worship of an echo. In the crowd
They could not deem me one of such : I stood
Among them, but not of them.'

With his American friends, particularly with Rodney and Poole, he preserved a friendly intercourse till their decease. The former, in 1811, writes from Washington, "What pleasure would it give me to see you once more! for I well remember your attachment, and your trip to Balston for me. (*See page 343.*) I wish you would come and settle on the banks of the Brandywine; your old friends would hail you with acclamations of joy."

Of this distinguished American lawyer and statesman the reader may be pleased to read the following account, in a letter addressed by Mr. Rowan

"TO THE EDITOR OF CARRICK'S MORNING POST.

"SIR,

"The approaching decision of the United States of America, on the mission sent by Mr. Monroe to South America, appears to me pregnant with consequences, ultimately, and perhaps not distantly, affecting the liberties of both hemispheres.

"You have published the report of Cæsar A. Rodney, which was submitted by the president to the American legislature. It may gratify some of your readers to become more intimate with that gentleman.

"During a few years' residence in the town of Wilmington, on the Delaware, I was happy enough to acquire the friendship of Mr. Rodney. He is of middling stature, has an ample forehead, rather fair complexion, a quick eye, and prepossessing contour of countenance. Mild in

his manners, but determined in his conduct, he is of a retired and domestic turn of mind, living in the bosom of his family, with a most amiable wife. He practised as a barrister, with a proper sense of the dignity of that character. Frequently have I known him refuse a fee from a client, whose cause he thought might be unsuccessful, and constantly rejected any application to support a bad cause ; and this he did while he enjoyed a very moderate income, and saw a young family increasing around him. His father, Thomas Rodney, was of the same stamp. He had been much persecuted by the malevolents, both in person and property, during the pursuit of that representative constitution, which is now the pride and the glory of the United States of North America. On Mr. Jefferson's election as president, in 1801, when the spirit of 1776 seemed to revive in America, he was called upon to represent the state of Delaware in congress, and his father was appointed chief justice of the Mississippi territory.

“ In 1806, Mr. Rodney was appointed by Mr. Jefferson Attorney-General of the United States, a situation of great confidence, as being a member of the cabinet, and of great knowledge and labour, being continually called upon by the President, the heads of Departments, and the Congress, to give written legal opinions ; as also to attend all arguments in the Supreme Court.

“ In 1809, the writer of this received a letter from Mr. Rodney, containing the following extract, which is inserted to prove how much Mr. Jefferson and his friends were misrepresented in this country at that time :—‘ On politics I shall say nothing ; it would not be proper *for* me, and particularly *to* yourself, except that I hope most sincerely war between the two countries may be averted. It is a desolating calamity which I deplore, and should

wish to avoid.' He then continued to predict, what was found to be the case, that if war *must* come, the American people, notwithstanding the reports to the contrary, would act with an union and energy unexampled in history.

Mr. Rodney retired from the office of Attorney-General in the early part of Mr. Maddison's presidency.

From some extracts Mr. Rodney permitted me to make out, of an interesting account and genealogised history of his family,* written by Sir Edward Rodney, about 1640, he appears to be descended from William, a fourth son of Sir John de Rodney, whose two sons, William and Cæsar, by his wife Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Cæsar, had emigrated during the civil wars. The former went to Antigua, and the latter to America, where he settled in the county of Kent, State of Delaware, and was the ancestor of Cæsar A. Rodney.

"Cæsar Rodney, whose name appears as having signed the declaration of American independence, on behalf of the people of the State of Delaware, was uncle to this gentleman.

"As I have the pen in hand, although I fear I have taken up too much of your paper already, I cannot avoid subjoining, from the genealogy to which I have alluded, two anecdotes, which perhaps were not known to those who furnished Mr. Playfair with the account of this noble family.

* The "genealogised history" to which reference is made in this letter, deduces the Rodney family from the time of the Empress Maud, with whom Walter de Rodney came into England, an officer of her army and household. From him descended the illustrious Lord Rodney, Admiral of the British fleet, who, during the American revolution, obtained a decisive victory over the Count de Grasse.

“ The first relates to Sir Richard de Rodney, who married the daughter of Sir Osbert Gifford, and is taken notice of by Selden, in his *Titles of Honour*, as having been girded with his sword by the Earl of Pembroke, while his two spurs, at the ceremony of his being knighted, were put on, the one by the Lord Marquis of Berkeley, and the other by Lord Bartholomew Badismere.

“ The second is, that Sir Maurice de Rodney, who is mentioned by Mr. Playfair as being high sheriff of Somersetshire, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, is therein said to have been the first person in that county who dressed his servants in livery ; and, during the twelve holidays, killed a bullock each day to regale the people.

“ Excuse the length of this effusion concerning an absent and highly esteemed friend.

“ A. H. R.”

“ *Dublin, January 4th, 1819.*”

Of this “esteemed friend” it may prove not uninteresting to the reader to hear that in 1823 he went as Ambassador from the United States to Buenos Ayres, but in such a miserable state of health, that it was doubtful whether he should reach his destination. The year after, Mr. Rowan received the following account of his death, from their mutual friend, William Poole :—

“ *8th month 11th, 1824.* After a long and, no doubt, anxious decline, (on account of his large family) Rodney bade adieu to this chequered scene on the 10th day of June last, and was buried with all those trivial honours which weak man *can* bestow, and a monument ordered to be erected to his memory by ‘a grateful people.’ How-

ever, I estimate these things at a very low rate, as I recollect that a monument was to *have been* erected by the Congress of the United States to the memory of George Washington, nearly forty years since. It is still unexecuted ; nor is it in any point of view of much importance, as his memory has a more substantial record than brass or marble."

Mr. Rowan's benevolent exertions to meliorate the circumstances of all around him who were in distress, did not so completely engross his time and reflections as to preclude him from indulging his favorite propensity to politics. It was not possible for him to be a dull unconcerned spectator in the midst of great and stirring events. Though he felt the full weight of his obligation to the lenity of government, he did not feel himself precluded from an open and honest expression of opinions which he thought loyal and constitutional, though not always in exact accordance with those of the ruling powers. His acceptance of pardon involved no dereliction of principle ; it did not oblige him to connive at glaring abuses, nor give an ostensible sanction to measures which he conscientiously condemned ; it restored him to the full enjoyment of all his rights as a subject of the British constitution. It had been generously granted, and in the same generous spirit it was received—in the spirit of a gentleman and a man of honour, not of a mendicant or a slave. He therefore clung to such opinions and measures as he thought most consentaneous to the spirit of the

British constitution, and which would best promote its permanence and stability. In a letter addressed to the editor of the *Patriot* newspaper, in 1811, speaking of the sentiments adopted in his youth, he says—"Of these his Majesty in his pardon had not required, nor my petitions promised a renunciation."

There were some, notwithstanding, who thought it would have been most becoming in him to abstain altogether from politics, and confine himself entirely to the quiet and unobtrusive concerns of private life. But restraint either upon his thoughts or his actions would have been to deprive him of one of the highest gratifications for which pardon was solicited. Exile, with liberty of thought and of speech abroad, was preferable to mental slavery and tacit submission to wrong at home. He was not, for the sake of one good, to sacrifice another which he deemed more estimable,

"Nec propter vitam vivendi perdere causas."—JUV.

"To purchase safety with compliance base,
At honour's cost a feverish span extend,
And sacrifice for life, life's only end."—GIFFORD.

In 1820, while the whole population of the British isles was deeply interested in the investigation of the conduct of Queen Caroline, Mr. Rowan was solicited by some of her friends in London, to take an active part in promoting petitions from Dublin to have her name inserted in the liturgy. He regarded that unfortunate woman

as an object of persecution, therefore of sympathy ; and though he discouraged the attempt to get up the "petitions," as impracticable, he joined in an address from the glovers and skinners, which he forwarded to the Duke of Leinster, to be presented, with a package of gloves, to her Majesty.

Being always regarded as a distinguished friend of civil and religious liberty, he became a member of the Catholic Association, and took, as he was wont, a warm interest in its proceedings. A meeting of the Catholic board, which was held in Fishamble-street, being dispersed, and having reassembled as an aggregate meeting, he addressed the following letter to Lord Fingal :—

" MY LORD,

" Will your Lordship excuse a few desultory observations on what all must allow to be a most critical period for Ireland, to be offered by one whose zeal in the cause of religious liberty is his only plea for this intrusion.

" The Catholics of Ireland were prepared this day to read a petition to parliament, in Fishamble-street, when they were prevented by a police magistrate, who chose to consider that meeting as an illegal one, and forced your Lordship out of the chair. I was a spectator of that disgraceful scene, where legal quibble was tortured to entrap the feelings of a man of honour, unaccustomed to disguise, because his pursuits were honourable, and legal, and constitutional. That meeting, however, being dispersed, the general sentiment of an injured and insulted population led to an assembly of individuals at

Darcy's, at which I assisted. That meeting was also disturbed by the same magistrate; and I am not surprised; but I am concerned that those circumstances should have altered the ultimate object of the former meeting, from a petition to parliament into an address to the Prince Regent.

“ This alternative gave rise to much discussion, and the delay of some days, until this new measure should be matured. Why could not that petition, which has been fully debated and maturely considered, and which, if the arm of power had not interfered, would probably have been accepted as the petition of the Catholics, stand as the petition of an aggregate meeting recommended by the committee appointed this day ?

“ One great motive with me for persevering in the petition is, that every new direction given to the public will presents a new view and new debates; the people are divided, and our enemy acquires force. On adhering to your petition, there would be little discussion, and no dissention. Appeals to persons are not equal to appeals to principles. One law ought to bind Catholic and Protestant, Jew or Mahometan, if Irishmen. This has ever been my creed, and will ever be the rule of action for,

“ My Lord,

“ Your respectful and obedient servant,

“ A. H. ROWAN.”

“ *December 23d, 1811.*”

Of the cause of “ Catholic emancipation ” he had always been a strenuous advocate. He thought the success of that great question absolutely necessary to the tranquillity of Ireland; and in 1824,

when he sent his subscription to the "RENT," he accompanied it with a letter expressive of his hopes and wishes. A resolution that both should be entered on the minutes was "adopted with a zeal and enthusiasm that had never been exceeded in that body." In reply to a letter from their secretary, conveying this intelligence, and expressing "the gratification he experienced in being the organ of sentiments entirely in unison with his own," Mr. Rowan writes :—

" Leinster-street, 29th November, 1824.

" DEAR SIR,

" The highly flattering terms in which the Catholic Association has unanimously resolved that my letter and subscription to the Catholic Rent should be entered on the minutes, demand my warmest acknowledgments.

" This mark of the approbation of so large and respectable a portion of his countrymen to one advanced in the vale of years, constitutes a reward for his humble though sincere efforts in the cause of civil and religious liberty, in which, he must allow, his zeal has sometimes outstripped his prudence.

" I cannot but believe that the prayers of millions of loyal Irish subjects, addressed to a gracious and benevolent Prince, and an enlightened legislature, to relieve them from a state of legalized degradation, will obtain proximate, if not immediate success.

" Yet the words of a patriot, dying for the cause he had espoused, are worthy of recollection :

“ ‘ Stir up such as are faint,
Confirm those who waver,
Direct those who are willing,
And may wisdom and integrity guide the whole.’

“ It only remains for me to express my obligation to you for those expressions which your friendship, not my merits, have drawn from you in your letter to

“ Your faithful friend,

“ A. H. ROWAN.”

“ *Nicholas P. O’Gorman, Esq.*”

While Mr. Rowan was enjoying the society of his friends, and the approbation of the great body of his countrymen at home, his name was assailed abroad in a style and manner of which he had little anticipation. In a debate in the House of Commons on the Catholic Association, Feb. 14th, 1825, the proceedings of that body were censured with harsh and immoderate severity. Mr. Dawson, not contented with general observations condemnatory of their object, thought proper to illustrate his argument by speaking of their conduct to individuals :—

“ To say that the object of the Catholic Association was the redress of grievances, real or supposed, was wholly untrue ; its object, as was evident from the conduct of its members, was to scatter calumnies, to weaken the confidence of the people in the laws, and to prepare their minds for the measures which were in contemplation. It was not only from the speeches of the orators,

but from the proceedings of the society, that this conclusion was to be drawn. Upon a recent occasion, a Mr. Devereux and a Mr. Hamilton Rowan had been admitted members of the Association, when the name of the latter was received with thunders of applause. Mr. Hamilton Rowan, it would be remembered, was one of the body called United Irishmen. He had been implicated in seditious practices in the year 1793, for which he was imprisoned. Previous to his trial he contrived to escape, and remained for many years in exile. He was attainted of high treason, but being afterwards, by the lenity of the government, allowed to return to Ireland, the best return he could make for the mercy which had been shown him was by enlisting himself as a member of an association quite as dangerous as that of his own United Irishmen. The name of *this convicted traitor* was received with thunders of applause—and why? In order that this recollection of the disastrous period with which that name was connected might be revived in the minds of the deluded peasantry, and help the designs of this abominable association.”

In a subsequent debate, (February 18th) Mr. (now Sir Robert) Peel followed the same line of argument as Mr. Dawson, and censured the Catholic Association for an act of great indiscretion in passing a vote of thanks to Archibald Hamilton Rowan—“an act which,” he affirmed, “was sufficient to excite suspicion and alarm. The Catholic Association expressed their admiration of the honest and patriotic efforts of that gentleman; they designated him as a man who had devoted his life to the service of his country,

and who now received his sweetest reward in the approbation of his countrymen. He did not deny that Mr. Rowan performed the relative duties of father and landlord, all the offices of private life, but he was addressed as a public man." The honourable member then referred to the report of the Secret Committee of the Irish parliament in 1794, quoted part of the celebrated address, "Citizen soldiers to arms," and entered into a minute statement of the trial and pardon of Rowan, whom, in the warmth of debate, he designated as an "attainted traitor." This expression appeared to some members harsh and unwarranted. The indignation of Mr. C. Hely Hutchinson and of Mr. (now Lord) Brougham was roused, and prompted each of them to expatiate on the character of Rowan in strains of fervid and eloquent panegyric:—

"Mr. C. Hutchinson said he had more than once lamented and opposed the practice of introducing the names of individuals who were not here, and had not the means of defending themselves. The right honourable gentleman who had just sat down had carried this practice to a most unjustifiable length. He had mentioned the name of Hamilton Rowan. He (Mr. Hutchinson) was in Dublin when that gentleman fled the country, and no man ever left Ireland more respected and more regretted. Ireland had not now a man more universally respected for the integrity of his public principles and the virtues of his private life. He (Mr. H.) had not the honour of his acquaintance, but he well knew the correctness of what he now stated. The association was per-

fectly justified in using words respecting him which expressed only what is and was the feeling of the population of Ireland. It was impossible that he (Mr. H.) who knew the country could answer the statements of the right hon. gentleman without pain and difficulty ; but he would boldly declare what he thought. He would tell the right honourable gentleman that the most enlightened and best men in Ireland, in 1793, had been among the United Irishmen, with the most constitutional views. The cause in which they were engaged was to benefit their country, and to produce that state of things which the colleagues of the right honourable gentleman professed themselves most anxious to establish. Never were men engaged in a more righteous undertaking. Had they been successful, they had prevented the rebellion of 1798. Sydney, Hampden, Russell, the greatest names, the most hallowed patriots in English history, would now have been stigmatized as traitors, had not the cause of liberty, for which we all are thankful, flourished here, and if that despotism had triumphed in England which had been continued in Ireland up to this hour. Had these men succeeded in Ireland in 1793, they would have been regarded as benefactors of that country, and they were even now receiving approbation ; for the system pursued by the right honourable gentleman and his colleagues was that which they then wished to enforce."

Mr. Hutchinson was followed in a similar strain by Mr. Brougham :—

" The charge against the Catholic Association was this, that they spoke of Mr. Hamilton Rowan as a man entitled to the respect and love of his country ; and yet,

said the right honourable gentleman, Mr. Hamilton Rowan was not more nor less than a convicted traitor. [Mr. Secretary Peel—attainted.] Well—an attainted traitor. The charge then against the Catholic Association was, that they spoke with respect of an attainted traitor. The Catholics state, that he is a man of the highest respectability. There was not a man more dearly beloved in Ireland. If to hold Mr. Rowan as an object of respect and affection be a crime, they were all guilty. This was not mis-statement, this was not exaggeration; they themselves join in the description, and admit it to be a fact. Of the two charges brought against the Association this was the gravest. And he was instructed to assert, that it would be proved by witnesses at the bar of that house, that there was not in this country a man to whom all were more zealously attached, more respected, and more beloved, than Mr. Rowan. (A member exclaimed ‘No, no!’) Mr. Brougham, in continuation, looked for the member who said ‘No.’ He was grateful to him and required his vote that night. He joined issue with his ‘No,’ and answered ‘Aye,’ and would prove his assertion by witnesses. He would go further. He would ask, who taught the Association; who still teach them to love and respect Mr. Rowan at they do? It was his Majesty’s government; it was each succeeding Lord Lieutenant, who held different sentiments and opinions upon the affairs of Ireland. This much-loved individual was a gentleman of large and princely fortune, respected by all around him, endeared to his friends by all the ties of domestic life, attached to his country by a spirit of the most ardent and irrepressible patriotism. He was one of those men who, in the agitated times of 1793, 1797, and 1798, when the wisest were often mis-

led, and when the honestest, from the very excess of patriotic feeling, were roused to phrenzy by the injuries which they conceived their country was enduring, underwent every species of vituperation, and in that wretched period were swept away in one general act of attainder, although many of them could never have been brought to trial with any hope of conviction. "*Fuerint cupidi*:" for the character is applicable not only to Mr. Hamilton Rowan, but to the Fitzgeralds and others, who went too far in the times of which I have been speaking; and God forbid that I should deny that they went too far, although God also forbid that I should charge them with crimes of which they were guiltless;—'*Fuerint cupidi, fuerint irati, fuerint pertinaces, sceleris vero crimine, furoris, parricidii, liceat. Cn. Pompeio mortuo, liceat, multis aliis carere.*' Such, Sir, are not my sentiments alone with respect to many of those unfortunate individuals. Pardoned by his prince, Mr. Hamilton Rowan returned to the bosom of his family. Again he became the dispenser of blessings to his attached tenants; again he drew around him all the tender and endearing connections of life; he exercised all the functions of a country gentleman; he attended all the charitable meetings which are so frequent in Ireland. By the manner in which he expended his liberal income, and by the whole tenor of his conduct, he became the darling of his neighbourhood. Nay more, he attends the courts of the representatives of his Sovereign, and is received with favour, with kindness, with courtesy by one Viceroy after another—not only by Lord Wellesley, but by Lord Whitworth. And this, Sir, is the man whom the Catholic Association are to be attacked, vituperated, and denounced, unheard and without the means of defence, for declaring

to be entitled to, and to be enjoying, the respect and affection of his countrymen ! Sir, I declare, that if I could not repel that charge against the Catholic Association, if I could not convince the house, from that unexpected quarter, if I could not commend the chalice to the right honourable gentleman's own lips, which he had prepared for his opponent, if I could not elicit new arguments from his assertion on this part of the subject, to show the necessity for inquiry, to prove the incalculable dangers which we are incurring in this course of hasty legislation, I would at once abandon the cause."

Mr. Brougham, in the fervour of his eloquence, spoke of Rowan as performing the duties of a magistrate and "holding the commission of the peace under the superintendence and protection of Lord Manners, the pink of loyalty ! the idol of the orangemen's adoration—acting under the concurrence of their late tutelar saint, Mr. Saurin." Mr. Peel having ascertained, by application to the Hanaper Office, that no such person as A. H. Rowan had been admitted to the commission of the peace for the last twenty years, in a subsequent debate stated this fact as a triumphant confutation of the ignorance with which he had been charged of Mr. Rowan's situation in Ireland,* and concluded

* Though Mr. Rowan sat upon grand juries, he was not admitted to the magistracy. That honour, it is presumed, was not solicited, and the government did not offer it ; not from want of confidence in his loyalty, but to avoid giving an occasion to the clamours of the superlatively good and true, who can neither forget nor forgive.

his speech by appealing "not only to the house, but to the honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Brougham) himself, whether he had not, by this simple statement, dashed from his hand the poisoned chalice intended for him?" Mr. Brougham rose in reply, and commenced by comparing the calm, the subdued tone, the candid and plausible manner of the right honourable gentleman's speech of to-night with that of the former night; so different, that he must declare he had never witnessed a more marvellous contrast.

"Would he (for that was the meaning of the right honourable gentleman's former appeal)—would he (Mr. Brougham) defend this Catholic Association, of which he professed himself to be the advocate and the champion, when on the very day of their declaration to the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, they issued an address expressive of their love and veneration for an attainted traitor? (Loud and continued cheering.) 'Attainted traitor!' Those were the words that were employed. He appealed to the impartial, the calm-judging men of that house, who mingled neither with one side nor the other, whether such were not the right honourable gentleman's words; the words uttered by him in the face of the country, without respect to the feelings of the individual, of his country, or his son? But he (Mr. B.) appealed to the better feelings of the house, to the country, to the memory of the right honourable gentleman after one week's recollection of what he had said; he appealed to the right honourable gentleman, as placing himself in the situation of one of those gallant officers whose distin-

guished bravery adorned a service, of which to be even amongst its lowest members was, in itself, a very high honour—he meant no other than Captain Hamilton—whether to hear it publicly, not privately, but in the face of parliament and the country, represented that his own father was an attainted traitor, was just or proper? As to himself, he would repeat his opinion of Mr. Rowan, from which he did not shrink. He would repeat his defence of the Catholic Association. He would not enter into the details of this gentleman's case, with which he was not much acquainted. The charge of the right hon. gentleman was, that Mr. Jackson and another individual were tried, and Mr. Rowan was said to be implicated. But it seems he was tried for another offence, namely, the publication of a seditious libel. They were troublesome times when these occurrences took place, and the best and wisest of the children of Ireland were liable to the same fate; and the charge against the Association upon this head is, that they respect an individual thus convicted. This, it appears, is not the last act of their imprudence; their folly does not stop here; it may be well said they are incorrigible, for after an interval of thirty years, and not grown wiser by experience, they entrust their petition to the hands of an honourable baronet, who is also convicted of a libel in peaceable times, before a just judge. This honourable baronet is also imprisoned and undergoes the sentence of the law, not far from the banks of that very river that washes these walls. He would not hesitate to say, that as an Irishman, a lover of his country, and a patriot, he would put his hand to the paper published by Mr. Rowan. It called upon the people to arm, but at the same time to maintain the public peace. It was published at a period when all was

at stake from abroad, and much was at stake from within. It was published at a period when Ireland was erecting statues to the illustrious Grattan, when the volunteers were proclaimed the saviours of the country. It was at this period Mr. Rowan called upon the people to arm, for the country was proclaimed by the government to be in danger; and if he called upon them not to stop here, but to go further, and when they had beaten back the enemy, to procure civil liberty, he would be only doing what the parliament allowed the volunteers to do. If these men had not armed in 1782, Ireland would have been enslaved and degraded. She would be an unworthy part of the empire, or, perhaps, after a civil war, she would be separated entirely. In those troublous times all the Irish patriots were subject to the same hazard; even that person whose name was never mentioned at the opposite side of the house without feelings of reverence and affection, Mr. Grattan, was not safe. The privy council had repeated sittings concerning him, and it was his departure alone from the country saved him from trouble. He left Dublin upon the first burst of that rage which filled the land with desolation. As to the comments made by the right honourable gentleman upon the conduct of Mr. Rowan upon receiving his pardon, they amounted to nothing; they merely referred to his grateful effusions upon that event. But, good God! are we to be told that a man receiving a free pardon, treated by his Sovereign as Mr. Rowan was, is to be branded as an attainted traitor, when a sarcasm is to be pointed, when a period is to be rounded, or a cheer excited in that house? It was said he was received in private life. He undoubtedly was, for there was no act to render him infamous; but he was also received in public, at the levees at the Castle. As to the

circumstance of his not being in the commission, he (Mr. B.) had only the same opportunity of knowing such matters as others had ; but whether Mr. Hamilton Rowan were a magistrate or not, I consider my defence to be impregnable. The King himself restored Mr. Rowan to a free pardon ;* Mr. Rowan was restored to all the privileges of a free subject ; Mr. Rowan was summoned and sat upon grand juries ; and I ask, is that no function ? Felonies, misdemeanors, cases even of high treason came before him ; he sat, and heard, and determined in all these cases. Is not that, I ask, enough ? He is received at the King's levees by the representative of the Sovereign ; is that, I ask, nothing ? He was received by one Lord Lieutenant after another ; and the letter of his Grace the Duke of Bedford said nothing of an ' attainted traitor,' although the honourable gentlemen at the other side, who so called Mr. Rowan, set themselves up the exclusive defenders of the King, the altar, and the constitution. It has been my practice and my habit to believe that the Duke of Bedford had, and has as good a right to be looked upon as a loyal subject ; as holding as deep a stake in the peace and tranquillity of the country ; as offering in his conduct, talent, and property, as good a test of loyalty as any honourable gentleman in this house. Then let

* Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "*Personal Sketches*," vol. ii. p. 120, speaking of Mr. Rowan, says, "The government found that his contrition was sincere ; he eventually received his Majesty's free pardon ; and I have since seen him and his family at the Castle drawing-rooms in dresses singularly splendid, where they were well received by the Viceroy, and by many of the nobility and gentry ; and people should consider that his Majesty's free pardon for political offences is always meant to *wipe away* every injurious feeling from his subjects' recollection."

the house hear what was the observation of the Duke of Bedford. 'The first act of the administration was to offer a pardon to Mr. Hamilton Rowan, for no man better deserved it; and no act could be more satisfactory, because a more honourable, a more respectable, nor a more liberal man, existed not in Ireland.' Well, then, for repeating this, the Catholic Association was blamed and branded. But I ask who has a right to complain of this? who has a right to fling in the teeth of Mr. Rowan that he was, or is, an 'attainted traitor,' when he was received by several representatives of his Sovereign, and when his Sovereign so smiled upon him? The Sovereign of these realms so treated Mr. Rowan, and what more did the Catholic Association? I repeat and re-assert all I have said as to Mr. Rowan; and I envy not the feelings of those, who, in despite of their Sovereign's pleasure, humanity, and good feeling, can wantonly and unnecessarily, not privately, but in their places in parliament, brand that honourable, honest, though unfortunate gentleman, with the name of 'attainted traitor;' and I still less envy the judgment of those who deem the Catholic Association culpable, because they hailed and treated Mr. Rowan as the King's representatives had set them the example so to do."

CHAPTER XVI.

Rowan determines to ask an explanation from Mr. Dawson—proceeds to London—the affair amicably terminated by the instrumentality of Lord Hotham—Captain Hamilton dissuaded by his Admiral from challenging Mr. Peel—Letter from Lord Cloncurry—George Ensor, Esq.—Captain George Bryan's apology for past injurious reflections—American correspondence—Letters of William Poole, of Messrs. Robinson and Lea—Rowan cheered at a public meeting—his consistency—Extract from the Northern Whig—Justification of Samuel Neilson—Correspondence with Thomas Moore, Esq.

MR. ROWAN had now reached the mature age of seventy-four, and it might naturally be supposed that he would be in a great measure indifferent as to passing events, and more occupied with meditations on time and eternity than on the transactions of the House of Commons. But though his spirit slumbered under the weight of years, it had not died; “still in their ashes lived his wonted fires;” the lion had grown old, but not so sick as to be kicked with impunity. He thought his name had been unnecessarily introduced, and wantonly handled in parliament, and coupled with epithets which even the freedom of debate should not tolerate, especially as he was not present to speak in his own justification. It is true he had been ably defended by the eloquence of Messrs. Hutchinson and Brougham; but he thought he should be his

own defender. Though he had been prosecuted for a libel, he had never been tried for treason ; and having received the royal pardon for the offence of which he was suspected but not convicted, he deemed it neither generous nor just to brand his name with a criminal stigma. He therefore determined to act on the principles of that code of honour to which he had been attached from his youth ; and as Mr. Dawson had been the first to use the offensive epithets, to demand of him an explanation or apology.

While he was preparing for his journey to London, General Sir George Cockburne, whose daughter was married to Captain Hamilton, offered to accompany him. This offer Mr. Rowan declined, as he wished to go alone. Sir George observed that he might find some difficulty in London to find a second, and asked, " In that case, what will you do ? " He hesitated a little, and then in his somewhat passionate manner replied, " Then I will challenge him myself, and take out Daly as my second ; he will see fair play." Daly was his groom and personal attendant. But Rowan was not without friends in London.

On his arrival in the metropolis he wrote to Mr. Dawson in terms of more strength than suavity, and thus for a time precluded such an amicable explanation as Mr. Dawson's subsequent conduct justifies the belief that he would instantly have given. Mr. Dawson's friend, Lord Hotham, whom Rowan describes as " a polite young man in the Guards,

cool, clear, and temperate, who acted in a most gentlemanlike manner," informed Mr. Rowan both by writing and conversation, that before he could expect any explanation from Mr. Dawson, his own offensive letter should be withdrawn. Rowan being as far from wishing to give as to receive offence, acceded to the justice of this observation, and addressed the following note to his Lordship :

" MY LORD,

" After thanking your Lordship for your clear and temperate comment on my appeal to Mr. Dawson, and after apologising for any warmth of expressions on my part in our conversation of this morning ; I have, as you desired, read your letter to a friend, whose opinion, in concurrence with your Lordship's, has convinced me that "*an appeal for explanation should be perfectly free from all language in any degree offensive to the party to whom that appeal is made ;*" and I regret that mine was in any respect otherwise. Under this impression, I have no hesitation in withdrawing my letter of the 23d of May, containing the offensive passages noticed by you. As I am now persuaded that those passages were the only impediment to my receiving such an explanation as it was the object of that letter to request, I trust Mr. Dawson will be prompt to relieve me from the impressions under the influence of which I have been led to address him.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" A. H. ROWAN."

This was succeeded by the following note from Mr. Dawson :—

" 16, *Upper Grosvenor-street*, June 30th, 1825.

" SIR,

" The letter which you have addressed to Lord Hotham, bearing date the 28th June, enables me to assure you, that in introducing your name into the debate in the House of Commons, I was influenced solely by considerations of public duty, and that nothing was farther from my wish than intentionally to wound your feelings or to offer you any premeditated insult."

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" G. R. DAWSON."

" *A. H. Rowan, Esq.*"

Thus terminated "a disagreeable affair," as Rowan justly termed it, "forced upon him by the manners of the world." There was some danger, however, that it might occasion another affair still more serious and disagreeable. An account of the whole transaction soon found its way to the Mediterranean, where Captain Hamilton commanded the *Cambrian* frigate. When he read the debate, "his blood boiled within him," as he told a near friend, and he resolved to procure leave of absence, or to give up his commission, to return to England and call out Mr. Peel. The Admiral in command, who was a sincere and affectionate friend, remonstrated strongly against such a proceeding, contending that as his father was satisfied with Mr. Dawson's explanation, the business ought not to be pursued any farther. Captain Hamilton yielded; but he could not be reconciled to himself till he

wrote a strong, though polite letter, to Mr. Peel, expressing his indignant sense of the wrong. He said that he did not mean to approve of his father's attendance on political meetings; but that his offences, whatever they were, having received the King's pardon, were no fitting theme for parliamentary animadversion; that their stain had been blotted out by the blood of his children, shed in their country's service: one had died of sickness and hardships; another fell in action on the coast of Spain; he had himself been severely wounded. He concluded by saying that he indulged a belief that if these circumstances had been taken into consideration, he and his family would have been spared the pain of an attack so unprovoked and so unwarranted.

Whether this letter was sent does not appear. Had Mr. Peel received it, it cannot be questioned that he would have given an explanation similar to that of Mr. Dawson, and disowned all intention to wound the feelings either of Mr. Rowan or any of his family.

When the attack was first made in the House of Commons, many of Rowan's friends participated in his indignation, and hastened to mitigate the intensity of his feelings by their sympathy, and by their approval of his past conduct. Of these, Ireland's most patriotic nobleman, Lord Cloncurry, was the first. Having occasion to send, through Mr. Rowan's hands, a donation to a charitable institution, he writes:—

“ MY DEAR ROWAN,

“ I take the liberty to send by you my contribution to Strand-street charity ; and I profit by the opportunity, to say how perfectly I respect and admire you, and more particularly that part of your life which has provoked the everlasting malice of the enemies of your country and of humanity. May you long live the ornament of both, and the cherished friend of all good men.

“ With respect and affection, yours most truly,

“ CLONCURRY.”

“ 26th February, 1825.”

On the same occasion he also received a friendly and cheering letter from George Ensor, Esq. the learned author of the “ *Independent Man*” and various other works chiefly of a political character.* But few circumstances could be more gratifying than the apology which it drew from Captain George Bryan, for some unjust reflections which he had made on Mr. Rowan at a period long antecedent. That gentleman, in speaking to a resolution at the Catholic Association, concluded his address by saying :—

“ “ There was a topic upon which an aspiring legislator was lately said to have indulged with almost unprecedented and unfeeling, because unnecessary, asperity ; it was a subject in which his (Captain Bryan’s) feelings

* Mr. Ensor says, “ I find your motto is the same as mine, for *qualis ab incepto* is precisely *semper idem*.”

were so acutely interested, that he lamented his inability to give expression to the emotions which agitated his heart. About twenty-two years since, when he (Captain B.) came from England, he was imperfectly acquainted with the political history of Irish affairs, and still less with the history and causes of the calamitous events of the year *Ninety-eight*; and as he had, in consequence of that ignorance, spoken disrespectfully at that time of his return of Mr. H. Rowan, he thought he could make no more adequate reparation for the injustice, than by acknowledging before so respectable an assemblage of his countrymen the error he had then unhappily fallen into, and expressing his sincere sorrow for having committed it, and the sincere pleasure it afforded him to have so favourable an opportunity of asking the venerable, and worthy, and most respectable gentleman's pardon. It was not a characteristic of a great mind like that of Mr. H. Rowan's to partake of an unforgiving disposition, such as appeared to influence some of his Majesty's ministers. He therefore hoped the present apology would be considered an atonement for the error and injustice he had committed.'

" This address was followed by three distinct rounds of enthusiastic applause. The gallant gentleman, upon the present as well as at the last meeting, when Mr. Rowan's name was mention'd, was very sensibly affected."

Though all of Mr. Rowan's friends must have condemned the assault made upon his name in the British senate, all did not approve of the mode in which he showed his resentment. His venerable American correspondent, William Poole, in consistency with the principles of that excellent reli-

gious denomination to which he belonged, condemned an appeal to arms ; and in a letter, dated *Brandywine*, 12th month 27th, 1825, after acknowledging the receipt of some lithographic sketches and some papers, sent him by Mr. Rowan, continues :—

“ The one relating to thy (foolish shall I call it ?) excursion to England is not sent me, as my friends think that I had better not see it. However, I have heard enough of it, to be surprised that at thy age thou should suffer *any thing* to put at risk thy own peace and the peace of thy family. But I cannot enter into thy feelings or views, perhaps, nor the warmth of the Irish character.” Subsequently he says, “ I rejoice that my friend has escaped that distress which might have followed to himself and family from victory or defeat. To old men, such as we are, it appears to me to be of much more importance to preserve the quietude and innocence of our minds, than to take a very deep interest of any kind in the affairs of a world from which we are soon to pass away.”

Between Mr. Rowan and his American friends there always subsisted a mutually fond recollection, which they cherished and kept alive by a frequent interchange of letters, and of such presents as each deemed most curious or most acceptable to the other. This intercourse was greatly facilitated by the American Captain Hamilton, who commanded a vessel long in constant employ between the Old and the New World, and who availed himself of every opportunity to evince his respect and esteem

for both parties. When Rowan had his portrait lithographed, with some pages of his memoirs, he sent copies of them, accompanied with his bust in plaster of Paris, to several of his transatlantic friends. Of these none stood higher in his estimation than Poole, from whose correspondence a few more extracts may prove not unacceptable to the reader.

Having received a small portion of the "autobiography," he expresses a wish to have the whole, that he

"May deposit it with his books, to preserve," says he, "the memory of a friend, whose humanity to me at a time that 'tried men's souls,'* I shall always keep in remembrance; and I wish my children to become familiar with the life of a man whose bust stands in a conspicuous part of my house, and is often a cause for making inquiries concerning the original.

"Within a few days, the daughter of thy old friend, John Dickinson, called to see me, in part with a view to examine the bust thou sent, with some of thy letters, and the 'memorials' I had from thee. She recognised in the bust the features that were strongly impressed upon her memory from the day that thou parted with her father's family. She shed tears plentifully, and said she was much pleased to see the articles thou sent, and particularly the commencement of the memorial addressed to

* "Mr. Poole had the yellow fever in 1798, and his family being afraid to remain in the house with him, Mr. Rowan slept in it and attended him until he recovered."

thy daughter, and which several of thy friends in this land have so long hoped to see completed. In this case," he adds, " I would suggest that each copy shall contain a portrait of thyself from thy lithographic press ; of thyself, as thou wert during thy residence here, as *that is the face* that will be recognised. Age, thou art sensible, has made a great difference in thy features since thou wast here and stood by my bed-side, a fine-looking man as was to be seen in a thousand, a helping angel in time of extremity. How age has warped thy features with his rugged hand !"

" *9th month, 1826.* Thou wilt have seen the various accounts of the decease of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, our late Presidents. Their deaths, so near to each other as to time, though separated by 500 miles, and on the day of the national jubilee, is in this country looked upon as rather an extraordinary circumstance. They died full of years, and full of honours, and with the love of their fellow-citizens."

" *Brandywine, 3rd month 21st, 1827.* I occasionally see the name of thy son in the accounts from the Mediterranean ; and it is a pleasure to know the son of my old and kind friend engaged in such acts of humanity as first taught me to respect and love his father.

" In this country there seems no indication of material sudden change. Some squabbles of a political nature exist among *office-hunters* ; but we have learned to disregard them, as well as the effects of cowardly passion and pride among members of Congress, who, if they shoot one another, the world will suffer no loss, perhaps be a gainer. It seems to me that the Gothic mode of administering *justice* is falling into contempt, and in another age may be wholly abandoned, with

the barbarisms of the age of knight-errantry and insanity."

Poole animadverts on Lord Byron with some warmth, condemning some of his principles, while he admires his talents :—

" It is only in true, vital, unadulterated Christianity, which is a gift from God, that real good exists ; and he who will inflict a wound upon this, is a real enemy to mankind, let his profession be what it may. On the other hand, all are not friends to the realities of this religion who make the highest professions, or pretend to serve its cause most effectually. Nor are they wholly excluded from its benefits who have not even heard its name. Christianity is a religion of the soul in intercourse with its Creator. It may be felt in all countries and climates, whether there be ministers and temples or not."

Mr. Poole knowing that Rowan, though "no naturalist," had a fondness for natural history, gives him occasional accounts of American discoveries, accompanied with specimens of such objects as he thought interesting. Of these was a box made of "*bird's-eye maple*, so called from the small spots with which it is irregularly clouded. The history of these spots is curious. The sugar-maple is the tree from which this wood is taken. It produces a saccharine sap, well known to the birds of this country, which pick through the bark into the wood to obtain it. By the next season

the hole thus made is filled with new wood, and is covered with new bark ; the birds then pick in another place, and hence the irregularity of the spots.”*

Again he gives an account of certain organic remains, of enormous size, found in the neighbourhood of New Orleans, and various other geological phenomena—“ subjects,” he says, “ more worthy the attention of men of science and leisure, than the petty squabbles of the *ins* and *outs*.” But on nothing does he expatiate with more patriotic delight, than on the statistics of his country—her growing prosperity, her foreign relations, her spreading commerce, her rapidly increasing population, her new accession of territory, her improving agriculture, her roads, canals, and railways, her arts and her sciences. He speaks of such national blessings as purchaseable “ only by a long period of suffering ; as it is in this way only that individuals and nations become wise. We, as a nation, have passed through this ordeal, gently administered ; but we are providing *another cause for suffering*, in our slave population.” He could not avoid seeing, and lamenting, that there is a “ damning spot” on the fair fame of his country,

* With other presents from America Mr. Rowan received a stick which grew over the tomb of Washington. His correspondent, Joseph Cloud, jun. justly observes, “ There must be some interest attached even to a stick or twig cut from a tree that shades the grave of so great a patriot and so good a man.”

a cancer that may gnaw into the vitals of her constitution, and lay prostrate the glory in which she exults. "Yet," says he, "there are so many enlightened, humane, and zealous minds interested in the slave question, that a rational hope may be indulged, that in another period of ten years the country may be relieved from this disgraceful affliction." In this hope he was too sanguine; but let not the friends of humanity despair. There is a redeeming spirit in America, a spirit of wisdom and of truth, which lives, and breathes, and burns with a bright and invigorating flame in the writings of Channing, of Ware, and of Dewy, of Garrison, Weld, Wright, and Gerrit Smith, a spirit which, we trust, will one day be successful in accomplishing the great designs of Christianity, in giving "deliverance to the captives, and setting at liberty those that are bruised!"

From others of his American friends Mr. Rowan continued, year after year, to receive the kindest and most affectionate letters, of which two specimens are here presented to the reader:—

FROM MR. ROBINSON TO A. H. ROWAN.

" Petersburg, Virginia, November 25th, 1825.

" DEAR ROWAN,

" I avail myself of a few minutes allowed by Mr. Blakeny, to recall to your remembrance your old friend and guest Robinson. I have had the pleasure of hearing of you frequently and more minutely than I expected—of your dogs, your rowings, &c. &c.

By-the-bye, if all I have heard be true, you must have improved prodigiously in nautical accomplishments since you upset me in the Delaware, and obliged me to stem a rapid current, in coat and boots, for upwards of a mile. Do you remember the scoundrels who, when we were just making the shore, offered the assistance of their *batteaux*, having fully satisfied themselves, by coolly watching our exertions for half an hour, that we would not drown in the last hundred yards? Poor Charles! you remember he was shut under the canoe, and I swam back, notwithstanding my incumbrance, and turned it over to extricate him. I often think with so much pleasure of the strange, muddy, amphibious habits of that period of our lives, that I would be willing to go over it again. If your memory ever glances at those times, you certainly have not forgotten me. There can be no doubt that, with a little training, I would have been a very accomplished savage. However, since my arrival in Virginia, I have sustained the character of a gentleman, a scholar, and a physician, as successfully as my best friends could wish. I am connected, by marriage, with many of the most respectable families in this state. My children are growing up rapidly, and promise well. For their accommodation I have been obliged to turn my attention to music, drawing, and other branches of education, of which I had but a mere smattering when I commenced; yet I have contrived to accomplish my pupils higher than is usual at this side of the Atlantic. I have suffered severely from the climate. My hair is thin, and nearly white; my face sallow and wrinkled; but there is still some elasticity both of body and mind left. I thank God that my affections are still unimpaired. I love the friends of my youth, and the countrymen of my fathers, as warmly as

ever. Let me add, with sincerity, that I remember no individual for whose happiness I feel a deeper interest than yours.

“ T. ROBINSON.”

“ P. S.—I am anxious to know from you whether the breed of the *Irish* greyhound still exists. I have made numerous applications for some years past, and can gain no intelligence. If they are still existent, and you know where a pair might be procured, pray inform me ; I hope to hunt both wolf and stag before I die. Once more, farewell.

T. R.”

FROM MR. ISAAC LEA TO A. H. ROWAN.

Philadelphia, October 20th, 1827.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I hope you will not think it impertinent in one who, though you may have no recollection of him, still remembers Hamilton Rowan, his father's friend.

“ Our mutual friend, Captain Hamilton, knowing my predilection for conchology, told me he thought a few shells from the Brandywine would be very acceptable to you, as you still retain a strong attachment to that beautiful and romantic river, and to the friends who once, though long since, enjoyed your society in the cottage on its banks, the ruins of which are still visible.

“ With this view I send you a small box of shells ; some of them are from the margin of the water within a few steps of the ruins, and must be the descendants of your old companions.

“ Believing that others might be interesting to you or your friends, I have sent you also some specimens from

other rivers. Those from the Ohio are extremely interesting and very rare here ; the distance over the mountains renders it difficult to obtain them, and they are sought after by all conchologists with avidity.

“ My collection is already very good ; but is still without some of your best and rarest Irish shells, which I should like to add to it, if perfectly agreeable through you.

“ In your collection of curiosities do you place minerals ? I have been collecting for twelve years, and have now a very good cabinet.

“ You, no doubt, are well acquainted with the flourishing state of this country, although young and without overgrown fortunes. The collection of curiosities in the various branches of natural history *progresses* with rapid strides ; and we have, it is said, in this city alone, about one hundred and fifty cabinets of minerals ; and to my own knowledge, there are twenty-four scientific and conchological cabinets. Under so free and admirable a government all things flourish.

“ Wishing you, my dear Sir, many happy years, and apologising for obtruding on your time, I am with great respect and consideration,

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ ISAAC LEA.”

FROM MR. ROWAN TO THE AMERICAN CAPTAIN
HAMILTON.

“ September 26th, 1826.

“ I have received and handed over to Jane the beautiful and healthy red bird, which my daughter Francisca has seized upon, and she rules paramount at present in the family, previous to her surrendering her liberty, in the course of next month, to Mr. Fletcher, the son of the

late judge of that name, a most upright and honourable man, and a descendant of Fletcher of Saltoun, of Scottish fame. She will, in all the probabilities of life, be enabled, though I should go the way of all flesh, to receive and thank you for your kindness to her father. My state of bodily health is excellent for the 75th year of my age; but a deafness, which is scarcely perceptible when a single voice is directed to me, becomes so confused, when two or three are talking in the same room, and so mingles words together as to become one buzz of voices; and this deprives me of all society with the world, and, of course, of those common topics of the current day, which, however trivial, give a zest to social intercourse every where, but more particularly in this land of frivolity. I was, however, attending my daughters, a duty which falls on me since my wife's illness, at Sir Capel Molyneux's, last night, where hundreds met about midnight, gay and laughing, while in the morning, a numerous assemblage of unemployed manufacturers, with their wives and infants, had paraded in silence through the streets, soliciting relief, and distributing hand-bills soliciting aid to prevent *melancholy occurrences*.

"A small paper bag containing, I think, only pounded maize, was in the larger one containing corn, which Francisca requires me to get explained. I had a red bird formerly, to which I gave rice as his food, treating him sometimes with a little hemp-seed; but this fellow refuses rice altogether.

"Having spoken of Francisca's marriage, may I ask is there no bosom heaving for the return of her Johnny? If there is, you will know how to dispose of the Irish manufacture which accompanies this, from

"Your sincere old friend,

"A. H. ROWAN."

On Tuesday, January 20, 1829, a great meeting of the friends of civil and religious liberty was held in the Rotunda of Dublin, attended "by numbers of the first rank, wealth, influence, talent, public and private worth, and of all sects of Christians; the Duke of Leinster in the chair."

Mr. Rowan, consistent to the last, attended this meeting; and a resolution of thanks being moved by Mr. Chaloner, to the Protestant gentlemen and noblemen who promoted the dinner to Lord Morpeth, Mr. Rowan seconded the resolution in a speech, of which the substance was thus noticed in the daily papers:—

"He said, that he remembered, early in life, when the people of this country were armed and determined to preserve themselves against foreign invaders—then he became one of a body, now called the Old Volunteers. He remembered a period when the object was to remove domestic dissension—then he became a United Irishman; and he now came forward at a period when, if Irishmen were really united, they must be free. (Loud cheers.)"

It is also stated in the same documents, that

"When the venerable Hamilton Rowan was leaving the Rotunda, after the meeting of yesterday, he was supported on each side by O'Gorman Mahon and Mr. Steele; and in going down Sackville-street, they were surrounded by an immense crowd of the people, cheering and huzzaing. They got into a hackney coach to escape, but the people would not permit it, and the horses were taken from the carriage, and they were drawn in triumph

by the concourse to the house of the venerable patriot in Leinster-street, amidst enthusiastic cheering, and shouting, and huzzaing."

A reform in parliament had ever been to Mr. Rowan a subject of the highest importance, and while he lived he did not relax his endeavours to promote it. The political sentiments which he had entertained in youth he continued to cherish in age, and he never hesitated publicly to avow them, as the following extract from the columns of the *Northern Whig* will amply testify :—

" **REFORM TEST.**—ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN. In the chequered page of Irish history, there is no name to be found, in modern times, more intimately connected with every measure for the prosperity, independence, and happiness of his country, than that of Archibald Hamilton Rowan. In the spring time of youth he placed himself beside the bravest and the most devoted of Ireland's defenders ; in the strength of manhood, he sacrificed every meaner consideration for her sake ; he ever devoted his best energies to her cause ; and now that the winter of age has silvered o'er, with gray hairs, his venerable brow, he is found still the same ardent, enthusiastic, and devoted Irishman ! His life is a moral, his consistency of character an honourable example ; and his name shall long be a watch-word among the friends of human liberty. The following letter, addressed to the proprietor of this paper, breathes a-new the spirit of his early days, and proves that he will cease to think of Ireland, and of her rights and her wrongs, only when the emblematic plant of his beloved country shall spread itself in a green mantle over his honoured grave :—

“ *Castle of Killyleagh, 13th October, 1831.*

“ MY DEAR FINLAY,

“ As I have ever adhered to the principle which dictated the original engagement of the United Irishmen, I take the liberty of proposing the test of that society, with some slight alterations, for the adoption of the friends of reform :—

“ ‘ In the presence of God, I do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial representation of British subjects in parliament, under our most gracious monarch William the Fourth, in the spirit proposed by his highly esteemed and respected ministers, Lord Grey, &c.’

“ Entering my 82d year, and frail in body as in mind, such as I am, I am yours sincerely,

“ A. H. ROWAN.”

“ *F. D. Finlay, Esq.*”

It was a noble trait in Mr. Rowan's character that he never forgot old friends ; nor did he decline to come forward in their defence, whenever he thought their honour or integrity unjustly impeached. When the *Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, by THOMAS MOORE, Esq. made its appearance, many of the friends of Samuel Neilson, a gentleman of Belfast who had taken a very active part in the affairs of Ireland, were surprised and grieved to find from a passage in that publication, in regard to his conduct, that any suspicion could be entertained of his fidelity to a cause for which he had suffered much, and to which he had always been devotedly attached. Among these friends

was Mr. Rowan, who came forward immediately in defence of Neilson's character, and had the following statement printed and put into circulation :—

“ Having had a long and sincere regard for Samuel Neilson, and the strongest conviction of his patriotism and integrity, I was extremely hurt to find that some unguarded expressions in a late publication concerning the death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, had been tortured by his enemies into a declaration that the capture of that unfortunate, high-spirited young nobleman was to be attributed to information given by him to government. I was living at Altona in the year 1802, with my family, when the British government released the state prisoners there, who had been so long confined at Fort George ; I immediately wrote to them, offering them such services as I was capable of, in that country. Among the replies I received, I find one from Samuel Neilson, which I have been advised to print with the letters which I received from Dr. Jebb ; and I leave the candid reader to judge whether such sentiments as it contains could have proceeded from one so *tainted*.

“ In consequence of a letter from Mr. Moore, inserted in the *Freeman* this week, I sent that gentleman a copy of the inclosed letter. But as the remedy he alludes to in that paragraph must suffer some delay, and perhaps may never meet the eye of the reader of such *feuille volante* as this, I submit it to the reader entire.

“ Any person doubting the originality of these letters may see them by application to

“ A. H. ROWAN.”

“ *Dublin, December 9th, 1831.*”

“ TO A. H. ROWAN, ESQ.

“ *Altona, 12th July, 1802.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I only this moment received your very friendly letter of the 9th. As to the American *mercantile* body, I am perfectly aware of them, and have long known them well. A dearly beloved friend of mine, now no more, used to call them ‘ the mercantile English *degenerate*,’ and your opinion tends much to corroborate his. I have been once in my days a *merchant* myself, and I must say that in our own country that description of men is not precisely that which I would choose for my companions. In the New World, however, I hope to find *the people* as I ever found them at home, honest and sincere ; I am not afraid of pushing my way among a people who, I may say, have sprung from ourselves. In the propagation of truth I know there is nothing but pain and trouble, and he who embarks in that cause with any other view will, I am confident, find himself mistaken. You, I know, are delicately situated ; but the purity of your views and the integrity of your heart lead me to speak to you with confidence ; at the same time that I wish, of all things, to avoid the most remote possibility of implicating you.

“ Neither the eight years’ hardship I have endured, the total destruction of my property, the forlorn state of my wife and children, the momentary failure of our national exertion, nor the still more distressing usurpation in France, has abated my ardour in the cause of my country and of general liberty. You and I, my dear friend, will pass away, but *truth* remains. Christ was executed upon a cross, but his morality has been gaining

ground these eighteen hundred years, in spite of superstition and priestcraft.

“ As to your friendly offer of books, send me any you have to spare (except Jefferson’s Notes, which I am already in possession of), Reynolds’ Trial, Priestley’s Letters, Cooper’s Essays and Trial, Paine’s Letters, &c. indeed all are new and interesting to me. I lodge at Jacob Heuserman’s, Little Fisher-street, No. 248, and will ever remain your sincere friend,

“ SAMUEL NEILSON.”

“ *Sloperton Cottage, December 21st, 1831.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ However much I may have felt the injustice with which some persons have treated me on the subject to which your letter refers, I am far more than compensated for it by the honour and pleasure which it has been the means of bringing me, in the communication I have just received from you, a person, allow me to say, whom, as far back almost as I can remember any thing, I remember having always looked to with the fondest respect.

“ I beg you to accept my best thanks for the letter of Neilson which you have sent me; and any other communications on the subject of Ireland you may have it in your power to favour me with, will be most thankfully received.

“ Yours, my dear Sir, very truly,

“ THOMAS MOORE.”

A copy of the letter inserted in the *Freeman*, to which Mr. Rowan alludes, is here subjoined, and

the candid reader will admit that it completely frees Mr. Moore from the charge of originating a groundless suspicion. As a faithful historian he felt it his duty to record what he had heard, and at the same time to express his conviction that the report was without foundation.

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN’S JOURNAL.

“ *Sloperton Cottage, November 29th, 1831.*

“ SIR,

“ Having just seen the *Freeman’s Journal* of the 26th of this month, in which notice is taken of a late attack upon me in the *Northern Whig*, on account of some passages in my ‘*Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*,’ relative to Mr. Neilson, I think it right to trouble you with a few words on the subject. In the first place, I have to thank you for having laid before your readers the actual paragraph of my work which has provoked all their animadversion. Had some of those who have taken the trouble to write about that paragraph, given themselves also the preliminary trouble of *reading it*, they would have seen that so far from originating any suspicion against Neilson, I but stated what was quite true, that such a suspicion existed, and then expressed my own opinion that there were no sufficient grounds for it.

“ To come, however, to what is, after all, my main object, truth, I can only say that if the friends of Mr. Neilson will, instead of thus arraigning me so angrily before the public, do me the favour to furnish me, through some private medium, with such authentic particulars of that brave but rash man’s life, as may not only account

for the ‘incoherencies’ of conduct which I have noticed in him, but give me the power of tracing his whole active career, it shall not be my fault if full justice is not done to his memory, both in the *Life of Lord Edward* (should another edition be called for), and still more fully in that part of my *History of Ireland* in which the momentous portion of 1798 will be included.

“ I am, Sir, your obliged servant,

“ THOMAS MOORE.”

Mr. Moore may one day have the opportunity which he would willingly embrace, of rendering “full justice” to the memory of Neilson. The Editor has seen a document which removes every shade of suspicion from that injured gentleman’s character, and fixes the brand of treachery to Lord Edward where it should light, too indelibly deep and strong ever to be effaced. But the time has not yet arrived for making such revelations of historic truth. The “incoherencies” in Neilson’s conduct to which Mr. Moore alludes, could have proceeded only from his extreme anxiety for Lord Edward’s safety. Unhappily they were liable to be mistaken as to their source, and may have favoured the cunning iniquity of diverting suspicion from the real object, to fix it on one who would rather have sacrificed his own life than bring that of his friend into jeopardy.

CHAPTER XVI.

Rowan's generosity—falsely accused, and vindicated—family afflictions—Mrs. Rowan's illness and death—Rowan sinks under the infirmities of age—dies—his funeral eulogy—Summary view of his character and pursuits—phrenological developement—conclusion.

Mr. Rowan's well-known generosity caused the demands upon it to be incessant and insatiable ; and when they were not answered according to the expectations of the claimant, (a thing that would often have been impossible even to the wealth of a Cræsus,) he was malignantly assailed, as if he had been niggardly and ungrateful.* In 1814, the *Ulster Recorder*, a Newry paper, edited by Mr. John Lawless, in making some strictures on the grand jury of the county of Down, took occasion to say sarcastically of Mr. Rowan—" Yet this same gentleman thought proper to enrich the funds of the Catholic board by a munificent donation of £5 !!! " Mr. Rowan, not willing to be misrepresented even in trifles, condescended to give a true explanation of the matter. In a letter addressed

* It could be proved, if necessary, from unquestionable documents, that Mr. Rowan repeatedly *lent* large sums of money which he could have little, if any, expectation of being ever repaid.

to the editor of the *Recorder*, he writes—"That sum, Sir, was subscribed by me as an Irish Protestant, in consequence of an application from the Catholic board to the public, for assistance to defray the expenses attending the petition of the Irish Catholics to parliament for their emancipation. As it was not my first, neither shall it be my last subscription, if necessary to the attainment of that object. But I must add, *I never did, nor ever will, give one mite to the Catholic or any other board, for purposes unknown to the community at large.*"

Mr. Rowan's generosity, even to those men who were instrumental in effecting his escape to France, could not, with justice to his family, and a thousand demands besides, be without a limit. He did not possess the purse of Fortunatus, which could never be exhausted. It appears from a preceding part of this memoir, that he felt a deep interest in the welfare of his little crew; that while in France he exerted all his influence in their behalf, and succeeded in procuring for them a profitable employment in Brest. On their return to Ireland, they received sums of money repeatedly; to what amount is not divulged; but it would be inconsistent with the whole of Rowan's character and conduct to suppose that it was not considerable.*

* Edward Clibborn, Esq. has assured the author that he assisted Rowan, with whom he was intimate, in a search which

Notwithstanding, it was affirmed by some who knew nothing of the matter, but who could not forego the pleasure of inventing and propagating an evil report, that they had received no requital. In a letter from Dublin to Mrs. Rowan at Rath-coffey, dated October 15th, 1822, Mr. Rowan gives a striking instance of such reports, accompanied with their refutation. He writes :—

“ Between ten and eleven last night, Captain Fotterell called on me. After apologising for the intrusion, he said he had risen from a supper table where it was proposed to advertise for a subscription for (the family of) Murray, who, you might have seen, lost his life the other night in assisting some vessel, as captain of the life boat at Clontarf. He said that I was spoken of very harshly, as having never given him or the sailors who had saved me any compensation, and that it was proposed to allude strongly to that circumstance in the advertisement. He added, that he could not conceive the fact to be so, and begged them to desist, for that he would go immediately to me, though he did not know me, to inform himself. I, of course, told him all I knew of Murray, and, as far as I could recollect, enumerated the different sums he had received, and that I had entries in my agent's account of sums given to the men. He seemed rejoiced that he could contradict the report, and retired. Now, as to

proved successful, to discover either a daughter or granddaughter of one of his sailors ; and that he not only relieved her from a present embarrassment, but put her in the way to earn a respectable livelihood.

the subscription, when it is set on foot, I think I shall send £5, without any other signature than from a person who has been falsely calumniated, or something to that purpose."

The candid reader will feel that Captain Frotterell in this case acted with laudable discretion. What man of honour or honesty would suffer his neighbour's good name to be wantonly sacrificed amidst the tittle-tattle of a supper table?

Mr. Rowan was now far advanced in age, and though he felt its infirmities, he enjoyed its comforts. He continued his correspondence with his surviving friends abroad, while in the society of those at home, in his own family, and in the pursuits of his own active and versatile mind, he found as much happiness as generally falls to the lot of man. In his latter days, however, it was grievously interrupted by some of those afflictions from which no human condition is exempt. The tie which had subsisted between him and his beloved wife, for the long space of fifty years, was now to be dissevered. Mrs. Rowan's health had for some time been precarious, and she saw the approach of death with pious resignation. Her parting words to her husband, "We shall meet again," were expressive of her Christian faith and hope. After a protracted illness, she breathed her last in the 70th year of her age, on February 26th, 1834. As he had never ceased to love and esteem her, he felt intensely for her loss; and as he contemplated her

lifeless face, he was heard to say in a tone of deep emotion—"A noble frame, and a noble mind!" Her remains were accompanied to the tomb by a group of sorrowing relatives, and an affecting address was delivered on the occasion by the Rev. Joseph Hutton, minister of Eustace-street Presbyterian church, Dublin. The following just and appropriate character, written by one who for many years had been her intimate friend, the Rev. Dr. Armstrong, appeared in *The Bible Christian* for April, 1834:—

"This excellent lady was a character of no ordinary description. Endowed by nature with singular energy of mind and firmness of resolution, she blended with these qualities the kindest disposition and warmest benevolence. These traits were fully manifested in the various trials and duties of her long and useful life. As a wife, her heroic fortitude, courage, and presence of mind, on a memorable occasion in the history of Ireland, have given her a conspicuous place among those matrons who, in different ages and countries, have been distinguished for their noble contempt of personal hazard, and their generous self devotion to conjugal duty, in times of difficulty and danger. Entrusted for many years with the sole guidance of a numerous family of sons and daughters, her conduct as a parent was truly exemplary. Strict without severity, and indulgent without weakness, her precepts combined with her example to train them up in such high-minded and honourable principles, as might not only sustain the character of the race from which they sprang, but, what she valued infinitely more, might evince

the genuineness of their Christian hopes and profession. And her maternal cares were not without their reward. Few mothers have been more loved and honoured by a grateful progeny. Few have had their decline of life more dutifully tended or its pains more assiduously soothed by filial tenderness and affection. In friendship she was faithful, steady, and sincere; to the poor and afflicted, compassionate, open-handed, and humane.

“ Her religious opinions were grounded on a settled conviction that the Scriptures alone are the unerring guide to Christian faith and practice. This conviction operating on her vigorous understanding, enabled her to overcome the prejudices of early education, and to adopt the principles of Unitarian Christianity as the true religion of the Bible. Her profession of these principles was consistent, persevering, and uniform, notwithstanding the temptations to desert them presented by fashion and worldly interest. It was her maxim, that sincerity in religion is the foundation of every virtue; and that he who is false to his God is not to be trusted in any social relation. Towards genuine piety in whatever form it appeared, she felt and expressed deep veneration and respect; but hypocrisy, when detected, was the object of her unmitigated dislike. Her candid and unsuspecting mind had been sometimes deceived by persons wearing the mask of religious zeal; and if in any thing she were severe, it was in the expression of her indignant reprehension of pharisaical cant and sanctimonious ostentation. Liberal in her own views, and exercising that mental freedom which the gospel confers on its true votaries, she desired not to restrict the independence of others. Her religion had nothing in it of a controversial, bigoted, exclusive character. It was practical, benevolent, universal

—the guide of her life—her support under many trials—her comfort on the bed of languishing, and her cheering consolation under the prospect of dissolution.”

From the extracts which have been given of Mrs. Rowan's correspondence with her husband, it will be apparent even to the superficial reader that she was a woman of exalted and accomplished mind, of high principle, and dignified demeanor; at the same time, most ardent in her affections, a fond mother, a doting wife, yet not blind to the imperfections of her husband's character; tender and sensitive, yet ready to do and to suffer all that a sense of duty could prompt, however repugnant to her inclinations. She had courage to contemplate disagreeable objects in their true colours, and to give them their appropriate designation. In several of her opinions she differed from the friend of her heart. Superior to every thing bordering on deception or artifice, she scorned to disguise her sentiments, though it were to assuage a present suffering, or escape the hazard of a painful opposition. But this diversity of sentiment never produced any coolness of affection. During her husband's tedious exile she kept up an uninterrupted correspondence with him, and took delight in unbosoming her thoughts to him as though he had been present; her letters seem dictated by Affection in the palace of Truth. Between her and Rowan there was not only a constant interchange of letters, but of gifts, which, whether of

great or little intrinsic value, showed how affectionately and intensely the love of each was reciprocated. On her part, nothing was left undone that could in any mode alleviate the pain of absence, reconcile her husband to his exile, or cherish a reasonable hope of his restoration. She was ready, had it been prudent, to cross the Atlantic ocean, to brave the perils of a clime uncongenial to her habits and constitution, and to share all that he had to endure in a land of strangers. This a woman of less fortitude would have dared; but she listened to the dictates of a higher monitor than even conjugal affection, to conjugal and parental duty, and for the ulterior benefit of her husband and family sacrificed her present feelings.* Her good sense, which Rowan early discovered, and which he had the wisdom to appreciate, obtained its due ascendancy, and her tender admonitions must have often restrained that precipitancy which was his besetting sin, and which betrayed him into all his errors. By her discreet management, which in times of distraction and alarm won the admiration of her friends, while it extorted the praise of enemies, the family affairs were well regulated; her children received the best educa-

* In one of her letters she writes—"Many misfortunes I have borne with a degree of fortitude and patience I did not think myself possessed of; but where an evil can be remedied, I should despise myself if that time were spent in weeping that should be spent in reflecting how to act."

tion which Dublin could afford ; her property was saved from confiscation and ruin ; and the most effectual means were at last adopted of procuring her husband's pardon. To few, if to any, might the description in the book of "*Proverbs*," of the "virtuous woman whose price is above rubies," be more justly or appropriately applied. "Strength and honour are her clothing, and she shall rejoice in time to come. She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness. She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children arise up and call her blessed ; her husband also, and he praiseth her. Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all."

This excellent lady had not been long consigned to the tomb, when Mr. Rowan was doomed to experience another family affliction, in the death of Captain Hamilton, as gallant and meritorious an officer as ever trod the deck of a British ship of war.* He now began rapidly to decline ; the infirmities of age pressed heavily upon him, though alleviated by all that the sympathy of friends, and the tender, unwearied attentions of his two daughters,

* As no manner of justice could be rendered to the history and character of this distinguished officer in the limits prescribed to this publication, it may suffice for the present to refer the reader to a brief and comprehensive sketch of his history written immediately after his death by T. K. Lowry, Esq. inserted in the Appendix, and first published in the *Northern Whig*.

Miss Rowan and Mrs. Fletcher, could achieve. He still continued to find some occupation in his laboratory ; but the stamina of life at length gave way, and he died on the morning of the 1st of November, 1834, at the age of nearly eight-four years, “in charity with all mankind, and wishing Ireland and the whole world happiness and free institutions.” The following account of his funeral appeared in the *Bible Christian* for Dec. 1834 :—

“ His mortal remains were accompanied to a vault of St. Mary’s Church by a numerous and respectable body of relations and friends. Among the latter were the two pastors of the Presbyterian church of Strand-street, of which he was a member. Prior to the reading of the funeral service by the Rev. Dr. Armstrong, the Rev. Dr. Drummond addressed the assembly ; and observed, that the memory of their deceased friend would be long cherished by many to whom he had been endeared by his public virtues, as well as by those to whom he was more closely allied by the ties of affinity, and who in him deplored the loss of a relative and parent. ‘ No one,’ said the speaker, ‘ who ever enjoyed his society will deny that he had a breast animated and warmed by the noblest principles of benevolence—a benevolence which, while it comprehended in its wide grasp the whole of sentient existence, could concentrate its energies, and not lose in ideal plans of universal utility the consciousness of what it owed to home, to countryman, relative, and friend. A liberal hand was the minister of his generous heart. His ample fortune he spent on his own estates and among his own people, all of whom he rejoiced to see prosperous and happy. A kind and indulgent landlord, he was

always ready to hear and redress their complaints. His sympathies, indeed, for all human suffering were easily excited, and never without a promptitude to lend relief. In this branch of Christian charity, and not in this alone, he might have claimed no small distinction. His conduct evinced the superiority of his mind to all the contracting and freezing influences of sectarian prejudice. He felt for the unhappy as men should feel for men, all of whom God has made 'of one blood,' and with similar susceptibilities of pleasure and pain. To this benevolence of disposition, not less than to his liberal education at an English University, (Cambridge,) under one of its most enlightened members, (Dr. Jebb,) and his familiarity with the higher and more polished classes of society, may be ascribed that conciliating urbanity and courtesy which graced his manners, and which disarmed even those who were most opposed to him of half their hostility. This courtesy was in him not like the refinement and polish of a courtier—a varnish, or a dress assumed for particular occasions and for selfish objects—but the honest, hearty expression of philanthropic feeling. Of honour his sentiments were lofty and proud—proud in that sense in which pride is a virtue, and which holds in scorn whatever is low and mean, selfish or disingenuous; many would regard them as chivalrous and romantic. His indignation was easily roused by the wrongs of the injured, or the oppressions of the powerful; and for himself, though, like all truly generous minds, placable and forgiving, he could brook no injurious imputation on his courage or his truth. Of his patriotic virtues who has not heard? His love of Ireland was ardent and enthusiastic. As it was among the first, it remained with the last affections of his heart. The same spirit which in his earlier years led him to join

the illustrious ranks of the Irish volunteers, glowed in his bosom till he expired. His patriotism, if in aught it became faulty, was faulty only by its excess—faulty by its lofty aspirings after impracticable good—a patriotism which, (in times long gone past, but of which the events will live in the history of our country) led him, with many men of the most eminent talents, virtues, and accomplishments which Ireland could boast, to form splendid, but, as the event alone could demonstrate, visionary projects for Ireland's happiness and glory. Then was he lessoned in the stern and rigid lore of adversity. Obligated to flee, when closely pursued, he escaped by such a series of romantic adventures, that it might have been well believed that he bore 'a charmed life,' or was guarded by some invisible tutelary power. Long exiled from his beloved home, he lost for a time whatever constituted the chief happiness of his existence, the society of those united to him by the tenderest of domestic relations, his wife, his children. But he never lost his magnanimity, his patriotism, his courage, or his honor. He was ever the same; and amidst deprivations, difficulties, and perils, continued to pour forth his prayers for his country's good. At length the stern rigour of the law was relaxed. A clement legislature restored him to his home, without any compromise of character, without any sacrifice of principle. No! perpetual exile—death—to a mind like his, would have been preferable to dishonour. He still preserved his consistency, and continued to take a lively interest in the promotion of every legitimate project which he thought had a tendency to meliorate the condition of his countrymen. In his support of the great principles of civil and religious liberty, he was steady and undeviating during the whole course of his long and chequered life. However

some may have opposed and condemned his political opinions, his integrity could never be tarnished, nor the purity, honesty, and disinterestedness of his motives called in question.

“As to his religion, it was like that of the denomination of Protestant Dissenters of which he was a member, sedate, sober, rational—seldom effervescent—never obtrusive—never dogmatical. He followed the great Christian rule of doing unto others as we would that they should do unto us. He claimed for himself the right of serving God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and held that all men are justly entitled to the full enjoyment of the same right. He tried not to ‘snatch the balance and the rod’ from the hand of Omnipotence, but left it to the great Searcher of hearts to decide on the error or the rectitude of human opinions. His religion taught him to ‘do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with his God’—that God whom he honoured and adored as the Universal Father, Friend and Benefactor.

“He lived to the age of nearly eighty-four years, and though broken down by bodily infirmity, retained full possession of his mental faculties till the last. Of death he had no melancholy anticipation. On the contrary, he welcomed its approach, confiding in the tender mercy of God, and rejoicing in the prospect of meeting in a happier world those beloved friends whose recent loss he deplored. For the shafts of death have fallen thick and heavy among those who were most dear to his heart. Not a year has passed away since he had to lament the premature death of a beloved daughter (Mrs. Beresford) in another land. But a few months have elapsed since we stood beside the coffin of her who had early been the partner of his most tender affections—a wife worthy of such a husband—a

matron richly adorned with the social and domestic virtues, and high in the estimation of all who could appreciate female dignity and heroism, blended with prudence, maternal fondness, and conjugal affection. Short was her dwelling in the tomb till she was joined by his son, the gallant Captain Hamilton, the honest pride and boast of his family ; for he had won merited renown in the service of his country, and a braver captain never unfurled the 'meteor flag of England,' or led her fleets to victory ; and now the husband and the father is brought to rest by their side. May their ashes repose in peace ! May their spirits be for ever inseparably united in heaven ! And may we, my friends, profiting by our conviction of the uncertain and precarious tenure of life, hasten to 'redeem the time,' and 'live soberly, righteously, and piously, looking for the blessed hope and glorious appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify us unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.' Then may we contemplate death not only without apprehension, but with joy, as the commencement of a new and glorious state of felicity. The dark brief night of the grave will be succeeded by the splendors of a bright and everlasting day.

“What is death
But the bright angel of God's providence,
The herald of salvation, come to plume
Th' enfranchised spirit ; with ethereal touch
To rive her prison ; quicken all her powers,
To wing with pinions fleeter than the wind,
And elevate to worlds beyond the stars ?”

PLEASURES OF BENEVOLENCE.

Mr. Rowan had a tall and commanding person, in which agility, strength, and grace were combin-

ed. His features were expressive, and strongly marked. In his younger days he was universally regarded as handsome, and so attractive of admiration that the eyes of all were turned upon him whenever he came into public ; a circumstance which must have greatly tended to foster his love of popularity, and stimulate him to the achievement of those feats for which he became so distinguished in his younger days. On one occasion he appeared in Paris as a Highland chieftain in proper costume, the very beau ideal of a Celtic hero. He was a good marksman, excelled in the sword exercise, and could send an arrow from a bow half as far again as any other man in France.* Such accomplishments caused him to be respected by the men, while his noble Herculean figure and perfect politeness made him a favourite with the ladies. He was fond of driving a phaëton, and paddling an Indian canoe : few could match his dexterity in rowing, or the gracefulness or variety of his rapid movements in skating ; whether on the Thames, the Liffey, the Delaware, or the Elbe, he,

“ with balance nice,
Hung o’er the glittering steel and hissed along the ice.”

The following instance of his prowess is well worthy of record. While he was a young man in Lincolnshire, trying a hunter which he had pur-

* For these and some other anecdotes the editor acknowledges his obligations to the kindness of Edward Clibborn, Esq. who was long an intimate friend of Mr. Rowan.

chased, the horses of a waggon took fright and ran off. At first he thought it was a baggage waggon, but discovering that it was crowded with women and children, he instantly rode between it and a precipice to which it was rapidly approaching. His horse was killed by the shock ; but he succeeded in stopping the waggon by twisting its chains round his arm, and resisting its motion with all his strength. His arm was dreadfully lacerated, but he felt compensated by the approbation which such an act of generous self-devotion drew from her whose praise he valued most, and who was soon to become his bride.

Though he had no delight in the chace, nor any great predilection for horses, he was an accomplished rider. Notwithstanding, he had the misfortune, at an advanced period of life, to be thrown from his horse while going in a retinue to visit king George the Fourth when in Ireland. His friends seeing him fall, ran to his assistance, and on hearing him jocosely quote a line from Homer *Travestie*,

“ He fell, the halfpence rattled in his pocket,”

concluded he had sustained no injury. But it was soon discovered that his arm was broken. The house of a friend was near, and surgical aid was immediately procured. Rowan, regardless of the pain, and fearing that the rumour of his fall might reach Mrs. Rowan and the rest of his family, who were approaching in an open carriage, seated him-

self in a window, that by being seen he might prevent any unnecessary alarm ; a striking proof, as has been well observed by one who was dear to him, "how well he could blend the most thoughtful tenderness with manly fortitude." He had a great fondness for some animals, particularly dogs. After mentioning the fate of one which had been pursued and killed under suspicion of being mad, he adds, "This melancholy event reminds me of poor *Vite*, and almost makes me determine never again to encourage a dog to love and accompany me." His canine favourites were commonly supposed to be of the wolf-dog species ; but erroneously, as Edward Clibborn, Esq. can testify that they were Danish hounds, a keen-scented, quick-running, sheep-killing race, and in other respects very troublesome. When walking in the streets he would call them to him familiarly by name, and sometimes imitate their language by barking at them in a very low tone.

In Rowan's character were blended many of the best virtues, with a due share of human imperfection. The great tendency of his mental constitution was a love of popularity—*nimum gaudens popularibus auris* ; and this fostered that taste for politics which had been early implanted in his mind, and which "grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength." He seems to have been a believer in the doctrine of necessity, as he affirms that "natural opinions, proceeding perhaps from some organization of what is called soul or

mind, cannot be altered or given up at the command of another." He speaks also of acting under the influence of opinions and feelings over which he had no controul. Yet in his affair with Cobbett, and in some other affairs, he acted unquestionably under great self-command, and more, as he would himself have expressed it, in the character of "man polite than man savage." His conduct in America was discreet and prudent, inso-much that he enjoyed the friendship of many men of the most opposite parties. As to his views of the American character, they accord with those of many distinguished travellers. But none knew better than he how to distinguish between the true stock of nobility and what he called "the stunted underwood of aristocracy." His education, manners, and habits were all so different from those of some classes among whom he was thrown, that it would be surprising had he not felt impatience and disgust at their familiarity. Ill could he brook the forward and inquisitive impertinence with which he was sometimes assailed; and with slaveholders he could have no sympathy. At the same time, none could estimate more highly what was truly estimable among his American friends. For such men as Cæsar Rodney, Tilton, and Poole he entertained high esteem, and cherished a lasting affection—sentiments warmly reciprocated; for by them he was remembered with as much kindness as if he had been a near and valued relative;—and deservedly so, for in some instances he manifested a zeal

and intrepidity of friendship that are rarely paralleled, certainly never surpassed, as is amply attested by his journey of five hundred miles to see Rodney when he was sick, and his attendance as a "ministering angel" on Poole when in the yellow fever.

His struggles for independence while in America were highly laudable, though his speculations were unfortunate. "In a state of abject dependence," says he, "I will not live, while I can clean boots in an alley."

"Thy spirit, Independence, let me share,
Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye!"

He shared the spirit, and had he been less generous or more economical, he might also have shared the matter. He was neither an epicure nor a gambler; nor was he addicted to any expensive pleasure. He could be contented with a crust of bread, and live for months on the coarsest American fare; but he could not restrain the impulses of a generous disposition, and the consequence was frequent embarrassment, with the necessity of drawing on his best friend at home. Such was his sympathy with suffering, that it not unfrequently led him into the error of thinking that all sufferers were necessarily right, and that their tales were true; and hence the applications to him for relief were innumerable.

While in exile he was in the receipt of £300 per annum; and it would appear from the fre-

quency and magnitude of remittances to him, that he received much more. His speculations in business, though highly meritorious as to their object, were, from unavoidable circumstances, exceedingly unfortunate. Though he had ceased, as he jocularly tells Mrs. Rowan, to be a gentleman and had become a cotton dyer, the gentleman was a character of which he could not be divested. As some one has said of Virgil, that in his labours as a farmer he scatters his manure like a gentleman; so may it be said of Rowan, that in every condition he maintained a similar character. Of him it may be affirmed as of Aristippus,

*“Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res;
Tentantem majora, fere præsentibus æquum.”*

HOR.

*“Yet Aristippus every dress became :
In every various change of life the same ;
And though he aimed at things of higher kind,
Yet to the present held an equal mind.”*

FRANCIS.

By his countrymen he was always regarded as a patriot, persevering and consistent to the last in his wishes and endeavours to meliorate the condition of Ireland; though, as he lamented, he was “unfortunately under weigh when he should have been at anchor.” He got the start of the age, and by his anxiety to precipitate, for a time only retarded, the progress of reform.

Though desirous to promote the benefit of all, he did not forget nor overlook individual interests in

visionary projects of general utility, but did what he found practicable on a small scale ; and which, had his means been commensurate with his wishes, he would have done on the most extensive.

In private life he was social and domestic, an early riser, temperate in his habits, and, when not provoked to choler, bland, courteous, amiable, and capable of winning and retaining the most devoted friendships, as he experienced in no ordinary degree in many trying circumstances.

As a husband, he was constant, fond, studious of meriting the esteem of his wife, by whose judgment he often suffered himself to be directed, and of whose matronly virtues he always expressed the highest appreciation. His letters to her are replete with sentiments of grateful and tender endearment ; and never did Ulysses pant more eagerly to return to his chaste Penelope, than he to the fond partner of his affections.

Of their ten children, eight were born prior to his exile, the two younger while he remained in Germany. No father could be more affectionate,—none more anxious for the best interests of his children. During his absence in America they occupied much of his thoughts ; and no small share of the sufferings he endured was caused by the fear that he had rendered them an irreparable injury, by bringing his estates into jeopardy. To his eldest son William he addressed several letters, giving him excellent advice both as to his studies and his conduct. He speaks of them all in

terms of fondness, and often did he send them sundry tokens of his parental affection.

Though his passion for politics was strong and invincible, his taste and pursuits were by no means confined to political subjects. He was a good mathematician, and familiar with the best Roman classics. He not only read and made extracts from various literary works, but sometimes indulged in the pleasure of translating from French authors such passages as he admired. Though "no naturalist," as he says of himself, he was fond of various branches of Natural History. He took great interest in the proceedings of the Dublin Royal Society, and having access to their house by the rear of his garden in Leinster-street, he was a constant visitor there,—and there in his latter days did he spend much of his time. He had also a library, and a laboratory of his own, containing chemical, electric, and galvanic apparatus, with weighing machines, and divers philosophical instruments. He was always addicted to mechanics, and delighted in experiments. Printing, lithography, and drawing afforded him occupation and amusement. He got a small printing press, and printed copies of such short poems and other compositions as he wished to distribute among his friends. He commenced both the printing and the lithographing of his autobiography, but had not proceeded beyond a few pages before he relinquished it, to be completed by other hands. Had he devoted himself exclusively to any one

branch of science or the arts, he might have arrived at excellence, but his pursuits were too varied to allow him to attain to superiority in any.

To those who have paid attention to the study of Phrenology, the following communication on the organical developement of Mr. Rowan's head may prove not unacceptable. It has been kindly furnished at the editor's request, by his young friend John Armstrong, Esq. Barrister at Law,—who, to the stores of a richly furnished mind, adds Phrenology, a study which he has cultivated with attention and success. He writes,—

“ I had several opportunities of examining phrenologically the head of the late A. H. Rowan in his life time, and in compliance with your wishes have lately tested the accuracy of the impressions then left upon my mind, by reference to the authentic bust in my possession—accurately modelled, I believe by an Italian artist. The most remarkable characteristic is *love of approbation*, which is decidedly larger in proportion to the whole brain than in any other individual I have ever examined; *combative-ness* is very large, as are also *benevolence*, *hope*, *conscientiousness*, or the love of justice, *adhesiveness*, or affection for friends. *Firmness* and *ideality* full; *constructiveness* very full. The observing faculties are much more developed than the reflective, indicating a philosophical turn of mind, more mechanical and experimental than metaphysical; and amongst those faculties, *eventuality* and *color* are very full; but the developement is also remarkable for the smallness and comparative deficiency of certain important organs. *Cautiousness*, *secretiveness*, *acquisitiveness*, *veneration* small; *self-esteem* moderate;

concentrativeness remarkably small. This deficiency of *secretiveness*, *self-esteem*, and *concentrativeness*, when considered in reference to the preceding powerful manifestations of certain other faculties, particularly *benevolence*, *adhesiveness*, and *combateness*, indicates a character capable certainly of great actions, but which will be the result of unguarded individual impulses, more than of combined and concentrated efforts prudently and perseveringly directed to one great end."

Whatever the reader may think of the subject of phrenology, there was assuredly a wonderful harmony between the phrenological indications and the real character.

And now the Editor must take leave of the gentle reader, and conclude a task which has been carried on amidst various interruptions, and frequent indispensable claims on his time and attention. Happy shall he feel if it give any satisfaction to those who have expressed an interest in the subject, and particularly to her who regarded its performance as a trust which she was bound to discharge, in compliance with the wishes of a beloved father, to whom her filial affection and tender assiduities rendered her deservedly dear.

APPENDIX I.

MEMOIR OF THE LATE CAPTAIN HAMILTON, R.N. C.B.

[Referred to in the note to page 447, and extracted from the
Northern Whig of 25th August, 1834.]

“GAWIN WILLIAM ROWAN HAMILTON, Esq. eldest son of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Esq. was born at Paris on the 4th of March, 1783. In 1801 he entered the navy as midshipman, in his Majesty's ship *Lion*, Captain Mitford, with whom he made a voyage to China. In 1803 he was on board the *Argo*; and, in the course of that year, was at the capture of St. Lucie and Tobago. In 1804 he changed to the *Tiger*, belonging to Lord Nelson's and Collingwood's fleets, and in that and the two following years was frequently engaged with the enemy on the coast of the Mediterranean. In 1807 he volunteered to land with the seamen before Alexandria, and was engaged in the attack on the lines and capture of that place. On the 30th of March, he commanded the party of seamen at the assault on Rosetta, and was severely wounded in recovering a gun which had fallen into the hands of the enemy. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in 1809; and, on the 24th of October, the *Tiger* formed part of the squadron which destroyed the *Robuste* of eighty-four guns, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Boudain, and the *Lion* of seventy-four guns, and drove on shore the *Borée* seventy-four, and a French frigate. On the 31st of October, in the same year, he attacked with a number of boats the French convoy in the bay of Rosas; which, although protected

by a frigate-built ship, mounting sixteen guns, a man-of-war of fourteen, and two others of ten and eighteen, as well as by the batteries on shore and two French battalions, the whole of the vessels were either taken or destroyed.

“In the year 1811 his enterprising bravery was rewarded by the appointment of commander to the *Onyx*, in which year he also commanded the British vessels attached to a Spanish expedition, under General Blake, in order to effect a landing at Huelva, for which he received the thanks of the Spanish government. He was afterwards appointed to command British vessels in the river Guadiana, but was recalled to Cadiz in June, and sent to England with despatches, strongly recommended to the notice of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, by Rear Admiral Sir Richard Keats. He was next appointed to command the flotilla in defence of Cadiz; and in 1812, being raised to the rank of post captain, and having obtained the command of the *Termagant*, he was again employed on the coast of Spain, assisting the Spaniards against the French; during which he destroyed twelve batteries and towers, one French privateer, and captured another; and was at the taking of Almeida, Almunecar, Nerja, and several other small towns on the coast. He also commanded the landing parties which drove the French out of Villa Joyosa and Navia, destroyed the batteries, and spiked the guns. In 1813 he was appointed to the *Rainbow*, and employed on the coast of Italy; during which he took and destroyed twenty-four of the enemy's vessels, at the capture of Viareggio; and, having landed with the parties of seamen, was wounded at the attack on Leghorn. On the 17th of April, 1814, he also commanded a party of seamen on shore at the capture of Genoa. In the same year he was appointed to

the Havannah, and employed in Chesapeak Bay, at the attack on Baltimore, where he captured and destroyed thirty-nine of the enemy's vessels ; he also went with the expedition of boats under Captain Barry up the Rappahannoc, landed and attacked the enemy on the banks of that river, and took their colours and guns. He was subsequently employed in the Mediterranean ; and in 1816 brought home Governor Wilks and family from St. Helena, when, the vessel being out of commission, he returned to Ireland.

“ In 1817 he married Miss Cockburn, daughter to Lieutenant-General Sir George Cockburn ; and in 1820, having obtained the command of the *Cambrian*, he took out Lord Strangford as ambassador to Constantinople ; from which, until the return of his vessel to England in 1824, he was principally employed in the Levant in protecting the Greeks, to whose cause he was devotedly attached, from the oppressions and barbarities of the Turks. In this difficult undertaking he was eminently successful ; but not satisfied with merely affording them every protection which his situation permitted him, he expended considerable sums out of his private fortune, in emancipating numbers who had fallen into the hands of the Turks, and otherwise assisting them ; and thus obtained a greater influence over them than, perhaps, any other officer in the British navy. On the *Cambrian's* arrival in England, she was immediately re-commissioned and again placed under his command ; and his return to his former station was hailed by the Greeks—by whom he was now perfectly idolized—as a certain pledge of the most favourable disposition towards them on the part of the British government. In the battle of Navarino, although unable to take the place assigned to the *Cambrian*, on account

of being at some distance protecting the Greeks on shore at the time the signals for action were made, he again acted a most distinguished part. His vessel was, however, in a few months after unfortunately lost, by running foul of the *Isis*, commanded by Sir Thomas Staines, with whom she was in company, and striking on the island of Carabousa. On his return, he was, as a matter of course, subjected to a trial by court-martial, but having been most honourably acquitted, was shortly after appointed to the *Druid*, on the South American station, from which he returned in 1832, bringing home the crew of the *Thetis*, which had been wrecked on Cape Bon. In the course of a few months after he resigned the command of his vessel, on account of the delicate state of his health, and gave up all idea of going back to sea; and his return, in February last, to his castle in Killileagh, county of Down, which he now determined to make his permanent residence, was celebrated with illuminations and every kind of rejoicing by his father's delighted tenantry. However, an unfortunate accident which occurred on the night of his arrival, by his being thrown from a jaunting-car, suddenly put an end to the rejoicings, and had then nearly terminated his valuable life; but soon after being able to travel to Dublin, he there recovered his ordinary health, and returned with his family, consisting of Mrs. Hamilton, two sons, and a daughter, to Killileagh, where he continued to reside with them until the 3rd instant, when he proceeded to Dublin, with his sons, on their return to school, and thence to Rathcoffey, county of Kildare, on a visit to his venerable father; there he was suddenly taken ill, and expired at four o'clock on Sunday evening last, (17th of August, 1834,) of water on the chest, in the arms of his eldest son, an extremely fine lad of about sixteen

years of age, who had fortunately remained a few days longer with him than he had originally intended.

“ From the above brief summary of Captain Hamilton’s splendid public services, which will long be remembered with gratitude by his country, it must be evident that the British Navy has been deprived by his death of one of her brightest ornaments, and its officers of one of their most courageous, generous, and noble-minded brothers in arms. To his afflicted family his loss is irreparable. He was the fondest of husbands, of fathers, of sons, and of brothers. To the inhabitants of Killileagh his death is a subject of the deepest and most heartfelt regret. On the arrival of the melancholy news, every shop in the town was immediately closed, and all business suspended. From his well known attachment to the seat of his forefathers, his permanent residence among them had long been looked forward to by the inhabitants, as the commencement of a new era in the prosperity of the town. Nor, during the short time in which he had been spared to them, were they disappointed. To every society, and project for its advancement, he became a ready supporter, and liberal subscriber; and, in his magisterial capacity, by the most determined opposition to every act of petty tyranny and oppression,—the confidence of the people in the local administration of justice had been completely established, when all their hopes were thus suddenly blasted by his premature death; and his friends and society deprived of one of the bravest and most patriotic, and at the same time most affectionate and gentle-hearted of men.

“ L.”

A P P E N D I X I I .

When Mr. Rowan, in 1802, wrote to the state prisoners mentioned in page 434, offering them his services, he received the following letter in reply from Thomas Addis Emmet, who of all the expatriated Irishmen was the most eminently distinguished for his talents and virtues.

“ My dear friend,

“ I received your kind letter yesterday, just as I was sitting down to dinner, which prevented my answering it directly. Since then I have shown it to Dowling, Chambers, and some others, with whom you were formerly connected in intimacy. They all desire me to assure you of their affection and esteem. We were in some measure apprised of your situation, and of the injury you might possibly sustain by holding intercourse with us ; we therefore voluntarily deprived ourselves of the pleasure we should enjoy in your society, and declined calling on you directly on our arrival. For my part it would give me the utmost pain if your friendship towards me were to lead you into any embarrassment, or subject you to any misrepresentation on a point of such material importance to yourself and family. I am certain that if I really stood in need of any act of kindness from you, it would be instantly done ; but at present that is in no respect the case.

“ My health and spirits are extremely good in consequence of relaxation from business ; both are even much improved. As to my future destination, you will I dare say condemn it ; for I know your dislike to America. But with the view I take of Europe, I have scarcely an alternative. I shall not go out big with expectation, and shall therefore, perhaps, escape disappointment ; but America, with all its disadvantages, opens to me the fairest field of honorable employment, and it possesses a charm in my eyes, which I look for in vain in this quarter of the globe. My stay here will probably be very short, as I only wish to let Mrs. Emmet recruit after a two years’ imprisonment and a very fatiguing journey, and, if I can, to receive some letters. From hence I shall probably go into Holland, and perhaps, if I find it advisable, into France, to meet my three little boys that are still in Ireland. This is in fact all I can say of my own intentions, which are far from settled.

“ Wishing you and yours every prosperity and happiness,

“ I remain, my dear friend,

“ most sincerely yours,

“ T. A. EMMET.

“ TO A. H. ROWAN, ESQ. ALTONA.

“ *July 8th, 1802.*”

This letter was followed by another after a long interval of nearly twenty-five years.

New York, January 8th, 1827.

“ My dear old friend,

For, as I am feeling the advances of age, I presume you have not remained in *statu quo* for the last five and twenty years. I received your letter by Mr. Mac-

ready, and thank you for it. Many circumstances prevented my answering it until now, which it is impossible to detail on paper; but, be assured, no indifference or coldness of feeling towards you had any share in causing the delay. Mr. Macready is a gentleman whose talents and worth have gained him very high consideration here, and who has entirely justified the warm recommendations he was the bearer of from Europe.

“I dare not write to you about Ireland, though probably if we were together we should talk of little else. I remember the day when I fancied letters might be intercepted: if such a thing could happen now, a letter from T. A. E. to A. H. R. filled with Irish politics would be a *bonne bouche* for a secretary. America is not what you saw it, nor what even your sanguine mind could anticipate; it has shot up in strength and prosperity beyond the most visionary calculation. It has great destinies, and I have no doubt will ameliorate the condition of man throughout the world. When you were here, party raged with a fiend-like violence, which may lead you to misjudge of what you may occasionally meet with in an American newspaper, should you ever look into one; whether the demon be absolutely and for ever laid, I cannot undertake to say; but there is at present no more party controversy than ought to be expected, and perhaps ought to exist in so free a country; and sure I am it does not interfere with the general welfare and happiness: indeed I think it never can, their roots are struck so deep. Of myself and family I need only say we are all extremely well. I have succeeded better than I thought possible when I set foot on this shore. I still enjoy my health and faculties. The companion of my youth and of my sufferings does the same. We are surrounded by eight

children and twelve grand-children, with the prospect of steady and progressive increase in the American ratio.

“ I pray God you have had your share of the happiness of this life.

“ Your sincere and affectionate friend,

“ THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

“ ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN, Esq.”

Mr. Emmet did not long survive the date of this letter. In 1829 Mr. Rowan received from William Sampson, the well known Irish exile, an epistle in which, after expatiating on Mr. Rowan's “honorable principles;” on Mrs. Rowan's kindness to his wife, and on the state of Irish politics, he continues thus :—

“ You have, I presume, heard of the death of Thomas Addis Emmet, and probably of the extraordinary honors paid to his memory; how a monument was voted by the Bar of New York, which has since been established in the Court-room where he fell. A eulogy was also voted which De Witt Clinton, Governor of this state, had undertaken to deliver, and by the same resolutions I was requested, as an incentive to the younger members of the profession, and as a model for their imitation, to write a history of his life. I could not refuse a task so honorable, and I accepted of it. But I was soon after seized with an aguish complaint, which returned from time to time, and so far debilitated me that I was unable to make any strenuous exertion. I had besides the affliction of losing my son-in-law, Captain Tone, son of one that you knew well, and husband of my daughter, now my only surviving child. This obliged me to lay aside the work, but with returning health I have now resumed it.

I was greatly disappointed also in applying to the family of my deceased friend, in finding that I could have not the least assistance from any of them. Mrs. Emmet, who loved her husband most tenderly, and did him honor whilst he lived, was affected by his death in such a manner that she cannot speak upon the subject of his early life, and his children were too young to know any thing of it; several of them indeed were born here. That portion of Emmet's life past in this city affords little incident. It was entirely absorbed in the duties of his profession and in a course of unexampled industry. He was looked upon with admiration for his abilities, learning, and eloquence, and universally beloved for his virtues and his manner of living, and great as was the tribute paid to him, he deserved it all. He was a shining honor to his country. There exists amongst all here the greatest curiosity to know the particulars of his former life, and indeed every thing concerning him. I have been trying to make arrangements for the publication of the work in London. You were one of the men Emmet most esteemed, and now that the events of those days are matters of past and useful history, I should request of you to assist me with some account of him and his family, his father, his brother Temple, his early studies, travels, first entry into public life, and to point me out where such details are to be looked for. You, it is true, had nothing to do with the *rebellion* in Ireland, nor do I expect any thing of that kind from you; but any letters of his, however trivial or familiar the subject, may go to satisfy the friends under whose commission I act. I shall, if I can find one, send you a copy of a eulogy upon him by Dr. Mitchell, whose name, probably whose person, you must know. Mr. De Witt Clinton, late Governor of this state, one of the most distinguished of our statesmen had un-

dertaken to fulfil the vote of the bar, and would have delivered a eulogy upon him, but he was called upon to pay his great debt before the day appointed ; and it is urgent with me to discharge this duty before a similar casualty should put a bar to my performance for ever. I owe much on my own account to my professional brethren here, as you will see by an article which I forward to you, containing their kind and affectionate adieus when some years ago, after the marriage of my daughter, I went to reside in George-town, D. C. Since my son-in-law's death I have again fixed my residence in this city. I have seen a book advertised, called the history of the leaders of the rebellion in 1798. Is there any thing in it that could help me in the biography of Emmet ? There never yet was fair play nor justice shown to the sufferers in that unhappy struggle. I often wonder how I myself, and other men given to peace entirely, should have been driven from less to more, by mere feeling for others, to desperation, and almost to self-devotion, for I was always among the least sanguine and backward, till no neutrality was left, and then, even then, there was nothing to warrant any part of what was done to me latterly.

“ I had indeed taken my ground, but if law was to be had, and I was willing to chicane, I should have as good actions of false imprisonment as ever man had. But now I am for truth, and no other revenge. It is so long since I have encountered any hostility or ill office, or envious or angry words from any man, that I may truly say I live in charity with all mankind, in which blessed spirit, &c. as they say at the end of all sermons, may we all live.

“ Your sincere and obliged friend,

“ W. SAMPSON.”

New York, April 29th, 1829.

APPENDIX III.

Notice respecting the Elm Tree under which William Penn concluded his first treaty with the Indians.

At Kensington, on the river Delaware, immediately above the city, there stood a venerable elm tree, which according to tradition, was the particular spot where the great and good Legislator of Pennsylvania held his first treaty with the Indians,—a treaty of ‘unbroken faith’ though unsanctioned by an oath—the principles of William Penn forbidding this kind of ratification. It is the subject of a fine picture from the pencil of our celebrated countryman, West.

A few years since, this venerable tree was blown down in a storm ; when some of the wood was procured by those who have a value for such reminiscences, and manufactured into cups, boxes, &c. ; one of which I presume was that mentioned in the letter. The first treaty with the natives was held soon after the arrival of William Penn, in 1682 ; and during the time he then staid in his province, he had many of these conferences with them, in which, by his justice, and the benevolence of his conduct towards them, he gained their entire confidence, and laid the foundation of his colony in peace, instead of ‘by the sword.’ And the example which it has afforded of prosperity following on such a foundation, aided by the liberal spirit in which he governed, and in which all his institutions were planned, well deserves to have its weight with succeeding legislators.

The Indian name for that part of the country where Kensington now stands, was Shackaminon.

This little account is written for the information of A. Hamilton Rowan, Esq., by one who recollects with pleasure the agreeable hours she formerly passed in his society, with her late dear husband.

D. LOGAN.

STENTON, 22nd of 10th Month, 1828.

APPENDIX IV.

By T. K. L.

Amongst the many friends to whom Mr. Rowan had endeared himself, there was none more sincerely and devotedly attached to him than the late Rev. W. D. H. M'Ewen, Minister of the Second Presbyterian Congregation of Belfast, and Professor of Elocution in the Belfast Academical Institution. In a short poem descriptive of the "changes" in his own life, he speaks thus of Mr. Rowan, whom he was proud to designate as his friend and patron.

" And there was one whose master mind
Each feeling of his heart refined :
When flashed his eye, 'twas sweet to trace
The eagle-daring of his race !
And he who wakes the minstrel shell
His virtues knew and loved them well :
A mind with classic lore imbued,
A heart that prized his country's good,
The first to raise the patriot band
When rose the valiant of the land.
Fair freedom traced his name on history's page,
Her bravest knight in youth, her steadiest friend in age.

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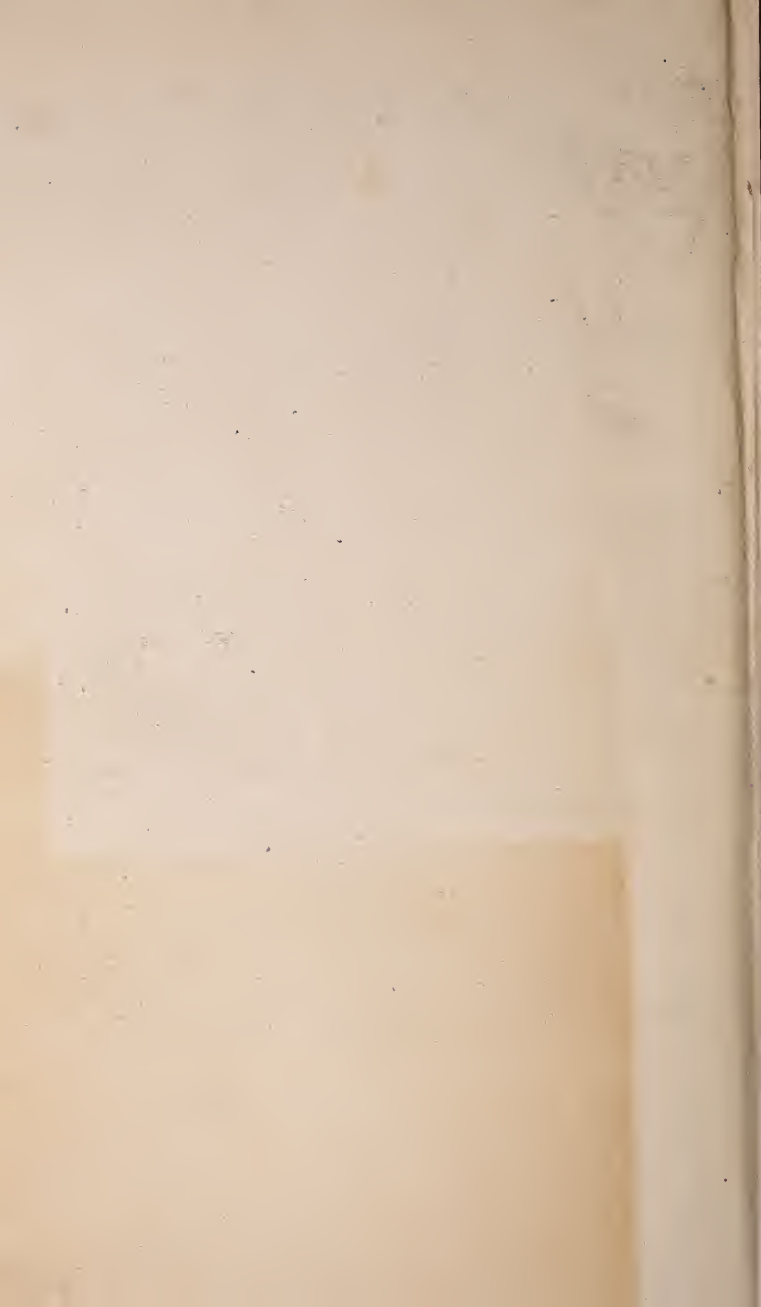
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